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Heath's Modern Language Series

DANTE ALIGHIERI

LA DIVINA COMMEDIA

EDITED AND ANNOTATED
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VOL. II

PURGATORIO

BOSTON, U.S.A.
D. C. HEATH & CO., PUBLISHERS
1911

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

N. B. — Whenever Dante's minor works are cited, the references are to the Oxford Dante, *Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri*, edited by Dr. E. Moore, 3d ed., 1904.

References to the Bible are printed in lower case Roman type.

Acts: The Acts of the Apostles.
Æn.: Virgil's *Æneid.*
ARIST.: Aristotle.
Bull.: Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana, publ. in Florence, Nuova Serie.
CASINI: *La Divina Commedia,* ed. by T. Casini, 4th ed., 1899.[1]
Cons.: Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiæ.*
Conv.: Dante's *Convivio.*
Cor.: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians.
De Cons. Phil.: see *Cons.*
Deut.: Deuteronomy.
D' OVIDIO: F. D' Ovidio, *Studii sulla Divina Commedia,* 1901.
D' OVIDIO²: F. D' Ovidio, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio,* 1906.
D' OVIDIO³: F. D' Ovidio, *Nuovi Studii danteschi,* 1907.
Eccles.: Ecclesiastes.
Ecclus.: Ecclesiasticus.
Exod.: Exodus.
FLAM.: F. Flamini, *I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo,* 3 vols., 1903–.
Gen.: Genesis.
Giorn. dant.: Giornale dantesco, publ. in Florence.
Giorn. stor.: Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana, publ. quarterly in Turin.
Inf.: Dante's *Inferno.*
Jer.: Jeremiah.
Levit.: Leviticus.
Macc.: Maccabees.
Mat.: The Gospel according to St. Matthew.
Met.: Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*
Mon.: Dante's *De Monarchia.*
MOORE: E. Moore, *Studies in Dante,* 3 vols., 1896–1903.
NOVATI: F. Novati, *Freschi e Minii del Dugento,* 1908.
Par.: Dante's *Paradiso.*
Phars.: Lucan's *Pharsalia.*
Phil.: The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians.
Pr.: Proverbs.
Ps.: Psalms.
Purg.: Dante's *Purgatorio.*
Rev.: The Revelation of St. John the Divine.
Rom.: Romania, publ. quarterly in Paris.
SCART.: *La Divina Commedia,* ed. by G. A. Scartazzini, 5th ed., rev. by G. Vandelli, 1907.[1]
Theb.: Statius's *Thebaid.*
TOR. *or* TORRACA: *La Divina Commedia,* ed. by F. Torraca, 1905.[1]
TOYNBEE: P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches,* 1902.
V. N.: Dante's *Via Nuova.*
Vulg.: the Vulgate.
Vulg. El.: Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*
Wisdom: the Wisdom of Solomon.
ZINGARELLI: *La Vita di Dante in compendio con un' analisi della Divina Commedia,* 1905.

1 There are now later editions of Casini, Scartazzini, and Torraca.

PURGATORIO

PRELIMINARY NOTE

In the beginning all eternal things were directly created by God — namely, brute matter, the spheres, and the angels. The angels, operating by means of the heavenly bodies, constitute Nature, the power that first resolved matter into its four elements and combined them into a globe of earth and water surrounded by air and fire. God by his own act shaped Adam and Eve, whose flesh is therefore imperishable; and every human soul is made by God. The rest of the world is the work of Nature. Even when the Lord said (Gen. i, 9), 'Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear,' it was the influence of the stars (directed by angels) that actually caused the land to rise, on a part of the earth's surface, above the normally higher element. According to Dante's cosmogony, the earth is a sphere, solid except for the cavity of Hell; its circumference is 20,400 miles. Most of this spherical surface is covered by water, but in the Hemisphere of Land, — which lies, in the main, north of the equator, — is a great continent composed of Europe, Asia, and Africa, stretching from east to west 180°, or 10,200 miles, between the Strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Ganges. Its two western parts are separated by the Mediterranean, which was thought to extend 5100 miles, or 90° — more than twice its real length. This sea, however, was well known and was charted with considerable accuracy at a time when general maps were still quite fantastic. The extreme north and the extreme south of the Hemisphere of Land were inhabited respectively by the Scythians and the Garamantes. The great ocean surrounding the land was an object of terror, full of mysterious dangers — monsters, rocks, whirlpools, chasms. In the exact centre of the land, midway between Gibraltar and Ganges, is Jerusalem. 'Thus saith the Lord God; This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her' (Ezekiel

v, 5). Half-way between Gibraltar and Jerusalem, in the middle of the western world, is Rome. Somewhere on the globe is the Garden of Eden, where Enoch and Elijah still abide in the flesh, awaiting the Day of Judgment. Although it was reached by sundry ancient travellers, opinions were diverse concerning its exact whereabouts. Generally it was placed in Asia. The English Bible says (Gen. ii, 8): 'And the Lord planted a garden eastward in Eden.' But in the usual text of the Vulgate the 'eastward' does not appear. Some located it on the summit of a lofty mountain, some on an island, especially the island of Ceylon. Bede and Peter Lombard record a belief that it projected upward to the sphere of the moon, and thus escaped the flood; but St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cii, Art. 1) does not accept this estimate of prodigious height as literal fact.[1] Whether there was land on the watery side of the earth was a question hotly debated; the doctrine of the antipodes — that is, of a race of men separated by an impassable ocean from Adam and from Christ — was condemned by the Church. Dante chose for his Eden, the scene of man's fall, a point directly opposite Jerusalem, the scene of his redemption. His Earthly Paradise is situated on the top of a huge mountain which rises on a solitary island in the midst of the Hemisphere of Water. There is no reason to believe that he regarded it as enormously higher than a real mountain might be.[2]

The upper part of the conical mountain-side is occupied by the seven terraces of Purgatory, where repentant souls come after death to cleanse themselves for Heaven. After leaving the body, they are brought to the island in a boat guided by an angel. Dante apparently agrees with St. Ambrose in holding that all human spirits destined to be saved (except Christ and Mary) must pass through Purgatory; on this point St. Thomas seems to be of different mind. Furthermore, according to Dante's belief, no souls ever went to Purgatory until the redemption was accom-

[1] Cf. Moore, III, 136, note 4; Flam., I, 206.

[2] See C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, 1895; H. F. Tozer, *A History of Ancient Geography*, 1897; Moore, III, 109. Dante's chief sources of geographical information were: Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, I; Alfraganus, *Elementa Astronomica*, VI–IX; Albertus Magnus, *De Natura Locorum*, especially Tractatus III; Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, III.

plished; before the crucifixion, unrepentant souls went to Hell, as they still do, while penitent souls descended to the Limbus to await the Saviour's coming. The lower part of the mountain slope, on Dante's island, is a place of waiting for Christians who postponed repentance until the very end of life. There we find those who were over-absorbed by cares of state, those whose career was prematurely ended by a violent death, those whom indolence retarded. On the shore, slowly circling around the mountain, are the excommunicated who died repentant though still under the anathema of the Church. All of these are excluded for a time from the penance they are eager to begin. Dante and Virgil emerge on the east side of the edge of the island, on the morning of Easter Sunday. There they meet the guardian of the realm, Cato, the personification of Free Will. They laboriously ascend the cliffs, still on the eastern side, towards the gate of Purgatory. Over a considerable part of the way, however, Dante is mysteriously carried in his sleep by Lucia. We therefore do not know how high up on the mountain the entrance to Purgatory really is; but we may naturally infer that it is more than half-way, since all of Purgatory proper is above the region of atmospheric change. At the gate is an angelic keeper, the representative of Ecclesiastical Authority. Steps, cut into the steep rock, lead from one terrace of Purgatory to another; on each terrace Dante and his guide turn to the right and proceed for some distance around the northern side of the cone, so that on leaving the last shelf they are on the west side, having made half the circuit. They reach the Garden of Eden, which covers the circular mountain-top, on Wednesday morning. Here the presiding genius, the embodiment of Innocence, is a lovely maiden, Matilda. On Wednesday noon they rise to Heaven. It will be seen that three nights are spent on the island; they are passed by Dante in rest and sleep, night being the time for meditation as day is the time for activity. In the course of each night he has a symbolic dream.[1]

[1] See the diagrams on p. v. For a series of illuminating studies on this *cantica*, see F. D'Ovidio, *Il Purgatorio e il suo preludio*, 1906. An excellent commentary is to be found in the notes to the German translation by A. Bassermann, *Dante's Fegeberg, der göttlichen Komödie zweiter Theil*, 1909.

Led by one of his happiest inspirations, the poet has placed the action of this *cantica* in the open air, not in the gloomy cavern of tradition. As the theme of the *Purgatorio* is betterment, release from sin and preparation for Heaven, its atmosphere is rightly one of hope and progress, and for that reason it appeals peculiarly to the modern mind. There are two elements in sin: the turning away from God and the turning toward temporal good. The first naturally ceases with repentance, and is forgiven. The second is due to vices, or faults of character, which must be cured. According to long-established Christian doctrine, of these fundamental defects there are seven, known as the 'capital vices': pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, lust. Dante, in harmony with St. Gregory and St. Bonaventura, arranges them in this order. There was, however, among Church writers, no absolute agreement as to their sequence, although pride was always regarded as the worst. St. Thomas, in various passages, arranges them in four somewhat different ways, and apparently regards the order as unimportant; once he has them as they appear in the *Commedia*. At the beginning of the *Inferno* we see Dante, moved by grace, turning back to God. He is already repentant. On quitting Hell, he puts sin behind him and tears himself away from evil practices; but there still remains the positive task of regeneration. The whole ascent of the mountain signifies this reformatory effort, an undoing of the work of sin, — the passage through the seven circles of Purgatory representing specifically the accomplishment of penance under ecclesiastical direction. The torment on each terrace is a symbol of the particular form of discipline needed to remove from the spirit one of the seven capital vices. When the soul is entirely cleansed, it regains the perfect freedom of will that sin has restricted; it finds itself once more in the state of original innocence which man enjoyed before the fall. The recovery of innocence is symbolized by the entrance into the Garden of Eden. Then comes the sacrament of penance, ending with absolution, after which the soul is ready to see Heaven.[1]

[1] See G. Busnelli, *La concezione del Purgatorio dantesco*, 1906, and *L' ordinamento morale del Purgatorio dantesco*, 1908. Cf. J. S. Carroll, *Prisoners of Hope: an Exposition of Dante's 'Purgatorio,'* 1906.

Every sin consists in an act of the will, and is judged according to its motive, not according to its effect. The will is fundamentally a 'craving for good,' which produces evil incidentally in the attempt to acquire good that is not real but apparent. The guilty act is therefore a yielding to the desire for this apparent or unreal good. But although sin is not in the first place perpetrated for the sake of evil, indulgence in it creates a 'habit' that begets 'malice,' the love of evil for itself. All sins fall, then, into two classes, those of passion and those of malice. The seven capital vices are all due to passion, and from them all sins of passion derive, whether they be sins of desire or sins of irascibility; a capital vice may, in fact, bring about a sin quite different from itself, but the act is classified in accordance with its source. Sins of malice are not due directly to passion, but to a habit caused, as we have seen, by repeated yielding to guilty impulse. All deliberate and 'habitual' sins may be called 'malicious.' Inasmuch as the sinner's guilt is proportionate to his understanding, the blindly impetuous or ignorant sinner is less culpable than the malicious sinner, who consciously prefers temporal to spiritual good. The capital vices are responsible for sins of weakness; offences against justice, on the other hand, are all due to malice. In Purgatory there can be no malicious souls, because a soul in a state of malice cannot repent, and only the repentant reach Purgatory; the moment a malicious sinner repents, his sin ceases to be one of malice, and must be attributed to the capital vice that first produced it. Furthermore, heresy (or *infidelitas*) is unknown in Purgatory; for, to admit of repentance, unbelief must give way to faith, and then there is left only the vice (presumably pride) that led to infidelity. It is evident, then, that in a portrayal of Purgatory malice and heresy, as such, may be left out of account, and only the seven capital vices need be directly considered.[1]

As Hell is a place of punishment for the unrepentant and Purgatory a place of reformation for the penitent, it is comprehensible that Dante should look at sin in these two regions from different standpoints. In Hell malice and heresy are at home.

[1] See W. H. V. Reade, *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno*, 1909.

Furthermore, the conception of Hell is universal, while the idea of Purgatory is peculiarly Christian. In *De Monarchia*, III, xvi, 43 ff., Dante describes the two goals of human endeavor, temporal and eternal happiness; the first we reach through 'philosophical,' the second through 'spiritual teaching.' Following a similar distinction, Dante treats wickedness in the *Purgatorio* from the theological, in the *Inferno* from the philosophical or moral side. Only in the offences against faith do we find in Dante's lower world (where Christ is never named) a distinctively Christian element; and even in the circle of heresy Epicurus is chosen as the leading example, as is Capaneus, another heathen, in the realm of blasphemy. The whole system is Aristotelian, and its fitting expounder is the ancient Virgil. Of the seven capital vices of Christian theology, four, to be sure, are included in the plan of the *Inferno* — lust, gluttony, avarice, and anger; but these four were familiar to the moral philosophers of antiquity. Sloth, on the other hand, was unknown to Aristotle, and envy was to him not a vice, but a culpable passion; it is natural, then, that these forms of evil should have no specific place in Dante's Hell. As to pride, Aristotle (with whom Cicero in the main agrees) does discuss it, under the name of 'vainglory,' as an excess of 'magnanimity'; an appropriate enough place for it, according to his description, would seem to be somewhere between Incontinence and Malice, and Dante does, in fact, there illustrate, in the person of Farinata, pride as a cause of heresy. St. Thomas more than once regards *superbia* in this light. It will be remembered that Dante's Hell falls into two great parts, an upper and a lower. The sins in the upper section are directed against temperance, those in the lower against justice. All the evil in the first may be attributed to infirmity; all in the second, to malice. But malice itself, in the *Commedia*, is of two distinct kinds. The sins in Dante's Hell are classified, not simply under two heads ('upper' and 'lower'), but, in partial accordance with Aristotle's terminology, under the three heads of Incontinence, Bestiality, and Malice. The last two, which belong to the Lower Hell, correspond more nearly, however, to St. Thomas's 'bestial malice' and 'human malice.' Cicero's 'vio-

lence' and 'fraud' are cited by the poet apparently as equivalents. Fraud is 'dell' uom proprio male,' that is, *malitia humana*. But St. Thomas, like almost all other moralists, considers *vis* as worse than *fraus;* Aristotle, who also distinguishes violence and fraud, does not commit himself as to their relative iniquity. Dante, combining the Ciceronian and Aristotelian *vis* with St. Thomas's *bestialis malitia*, makes of Bestiality a third distinct state of the will, different both from Incontinence (or *infirmitas*) and from Malice (or *malitia humana*), more culpable than the first and less so than the second. Their order follows, it would seem, the Gregorian maxim, 'The greater the infamy, the less the guilt.' In this arrangement Dante stands really alone. On the other hand, while St. Thomas regards the bestial sins as offences against temperance, Dante considers them as offences against justice, and therefore worthy of the Lower Hell. The only two phases of bestial wrong-doing that are discussed at any length by St. Thomas — ferocity and sodomy — are illustrated in the first and third *gironi* of Dante's seventh circle.

CANTO I

ARGUMENT

As at the beginning of his tale of Hell (*Inf.* II, 79), so at the outset of his second narrative Dante invokes the aid of the Muses, the embodiment of poetic inspiration. In the Letter to Can Grande we are informed that poets frequently prefix an invocation to their works. 'Et hoc est eis conveniens, quia multa invocatione opus est eis, quum aliquid supra communem modum hominum a superioribus substantiis petendum sit, quasi divinum quoddam munus' (18, 308-12). Calliope, in particular, is here apostrophized, as in the *Æneid*, IX, 525:

'Vos, o Calliope, precor aspirate canenti.'

She was probably known to Dante as the patroness of style and rhetoric. The mention of her name reminds the author of the story of the daughters of Pieros, whom she defeated in song.

The appeal to the Muses is followed by a beautiful description of dawn. The journey up the mountain begins on the morning of Easter Sunday: both hour and day are full of the promise of hope, which is the dominant note of the *Purgatorio*. It will be remembered that the descent into Hell began on the evening of Good Friday. The action of the second *cantica* opens, then, just before sunrise on Sunday, April 10, 1300.

The Island of Purgatory being in the southern hemisphere, some of the celestial phenomena seem inverted. As the traveller faces the east, for instance, he must turn to the right to look at the nearer, or south, pole. Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, repeatedly touches upon the aspect of the sky over Africa; and Dante himself, in *Convivio*, III, v, 80–202, gives a remarkably accurate description of the sun's course as seen from the two poles and the equator. The stars of the extreme south, however, were of course unknown to our poet's generation, and there his imagination had free scope. He invents a constellation of four bright lights, corresponding to the Great Bear of the north. These luminaries symbolize the four cardinal virtues, — Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, — which belong to the active life and have

existed since humanity began; whereas the three theological virtues, — Faith, Hope, Love, — especially adapted to the life of contemplation, are distinctively Christian. Adam and Eve before the fall ('the first people'), dwelling at the top of the mountain, beheld these stars; but fallen man, inhabiting the northern hemisphere, is bereft of their light.

These four shining virtues illumine with sunlike clearness the custodian of Purgatory, the example of that Free Will which the souls in his domain are striving, by purification, to regain; for although he appears only on the shore, the whole mountain, up to the Garden of Eden, is in his keeping. This guardian is Cato the Younger, who on earth, after heroic resistance, killed himself in Utica rather than submit to Cæsar. His suicide was evidently regarded by Dante, not as a sinful revolt against God's law, but as a divinely bidden assertion of liberty. Some suggestion of this interpretation is to be found in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, from which, in the main, Dante's conception of Cato was drawn. In *De Monarchia*, II, v, 132–4 and 136–40 Dante says: 'Accedit et illud inenarrabile sacrificium severissimi veræ libertatis auctoris Marci Catonis' . . . 'ut mundo libertatis amores accenderet, quanti libertas esset ostendit, dum e vita liber decedere maluit quam sine libertate manere in illa.' He continues (159–70), quoting from Cicero's *De Officiis:* '"Non enim alia in causa Marcus Cato fuit, alia cæteri qui se in Africa Cæsari tradiderunt; atque cæteris forsitan vitio datum esset, si se interemissent, propterea quod levior eorum vita, et mores fuerunt faciliores. Catoni vero quum incredibilem natura tribuisset gravitatem, eamque perpetua constantia roborasset, semperque in proposito susceptoque permansisset, moriendum ei potius quam tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit."'

As a virtuous pagan, Cato went, on dying, to the Limbus, whence he was rescued with the patriarchs when Christ descended into Hell. Then it was that souls first mounted to Purgatory; and from that time dates Cato's ministry, which is to continue until the Judgment Day. How he became (or is to become) a Christian, we are not told — perhaps he received the faith on his release, having beheld Christ; but a Christian he must be on the day of resurrection, for Dante states that his body will then be glorified, like those of the other blest.

The idea of giving him this sacred charge probably came to Dante from a passage in the *Æneid* (VIII, 670), where, pictured on a shield, are scenes from the other world, the wicked in one spot,

in another the good with Cato (presumably, in Virgil's intention, the Elder) for a lawgiver:

'Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.'

Cato was, however, Dante's favorite hero in antiquity, and he would, in any case, have found a dignified place for him. In the *Convivio* and *De Monarchia* he speaks of him with the deepest reverence: 'quello glorioso Catone, di cui non fui di sopra oso di parlare' (*Conv.*, IV, vi, 95–6); 'si legge di Catone che non a sè ma alla patria e a tutto il mondo nato essere credea' (*Conv.*, IV, xxvii, 31–3). In the *Convivio*, IV, xxviii, 97 ff., Dante interprets Lucan's account of the return of Cato's wife, Martia, to him, in her old age, after the death of Hortensius, as signifying the return of the soul to God; and he adds: 'E quale uomo terreno più degno fu di significare Iddio, che Catone?'

For the shaggy, unkempt Cato of *Pharsalia*, II, 374–6, a man in the prime of life, Dante substitutes a figure all venerable and august, appropriate to his high office. In the common legend of the Earthly Paradise two aged men appear in the Garden — Enoch and Elijah, who were transferred from earth to Eden, to await, in the body, the Day of Judgment. Although Dante, in all likelihood, believed in this myth, he wished his Garden of Eden to be entirely suggestive of innocent youth, the springtime of humanity, and for that reason suppressed the inharmonious image of the two elders, which may, however, have lurked in his memory and contributed to his portrait of Cato. In the *Voyage of St. Brendan*, a tale widely current in the Middle Ages, the monk Barinthus reaches an island where he finds, on the shore, 'a man of great brightness,' who gives him directions, and later, in the interior, St. Brendan meets a youth who calls him and his companions by name. These two figures — originally, no doubt, identical, but differently described and occurring at the beginning and the end of the story — correspond, in a way, to Dante's Cato and Matilda. After imparting the required information, the elder in the narrative of the Irish monk suddenly vanishes; and our Cato, contrary to the usual habit of Dante's spirits, does the same.

See C. Schröder, *Sanct Brandan* (text of the *Peregrinatio S. Brandani abbatis*), 1871, pp. 4 and 35. — For Cato see F. Cipolla, *Intorno al Catone del Purgatorio Dantesco*, in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Torino*, XXX, Dec. 9, 1894; *I Beati e Catone*, in the *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto*, LX, ii, 941 (cf. p. 81); *Quattro Lettere intorno al Catone di Dante*, 1898. See also *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVII, 71.

Per correr miglior acqua alza le vele
Omai la navicella del mio ingegno,
Che lascia retro a sè mar sì crudele;
E canterò di quel secondo regno,
Dove l' umano spirito si purga 5
E di salire al ciel diventa degno.
Ma qui la morta poesì risurga,
O sante Muse, poichè vostro sono,
E qui Callïopè alquanto surga,
Seguitando il mio canto con quel suono 10
Di cui le Piche misere sentiro
Lo colpo tal che disperar perdono.
Dolce color d' orïental zaffiro,
Che s' accoglieva nel sereno aspetto
Dal mezzo puro infino al primo giro, 15
Agli occhi miei ricominciò diletto,
Tosto ch' i' uscii fuor dell' aura morta
Che m' avea contristati gli occhi e il petto.
Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta
Faceva tutto rider l' orïente, 20
Velando i Pesci ch' erano in sua scorta.

7. *Poesì* = *poesia*. *La morta poesì* probably means the poetry that has sung of the death of the soul.

9. For the accentuation *Callïopè*, see notes on *Inf.* V, 4 and XXX, 2. In Latin poetry the ictus fell on the last syllable of such names as *Callĭŏpē*, *Tīsĭphŏnē*: cf. *Æn.*, IX, 525; *Met.*, V, 339. — *Surga:* cf. *Met.*, V, 338–9, 'surgit . . . Calliope.'

10. *Seguitando*, 'accompanying.' Cf. *Par.* XX, 143.

11, 12. *Sentiro* = *sentirono*. — *Disperar* = *disperarono*. — The wretched magpies once heard such music from the lips of Calliope that they 'despaired of forgiveness' for their presumption. These Magpies were the nine daughters of King Pieros, who challenged the Muses to a contest, and, being worsted by Calliope, became so insolent that they were turned into birds. Cf. *Met.*, V, 300–40, 662–78.

14, 15. The 'clear face' of the sky, which was pure from the centre, or zenith, to the horizon.

21. Venus was dimming, by her brighter light, the Fishes, the constellation preceding Aries, in which was the sun. The time indicated is an hour or more before sunrise. According to the ecclesiastical calendar of 1300, Venus was in

Io mi volsi a man destra e posi mente
All' altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle
Non viste mai fuor che alla prima gente.
Goder pareva il ciel di lor fiammelle. 25
O settentrïonal vedovo sito,
Poichè privato sei di mirar quelle!
Com' io dal loro sguardo fui partito,
Un poco me volgendo all' altro polo,
Là onde il carro già era sparito, 30
Vidi presso di me un veglio solo,
Degno di tanta riverenza in vista
Che più non dee a padre alcun figliuolo.
Lunga la barba e di pel bianco mista
Portava, a' suoi capegli simigliante, 35
De' quai cadeva al petto doppia lista.
Li raggi delle quattro luci sante
Fregiavan sì la sua faccia di lume
Ch' io 'l vedea come il sol fosse davante.
'Chi siete voi, che contro al cieco fiume 40
Fuggito avete la prigione eterna?'
Diss' ei, movendo quell' oneste piume.
'Chi v' ha guidati? o chi vi fu lucerna,
Uscendo fuor della profonda notte
Che sempre nera fa la valle inferna? 45
Son le leggi d' abisso così rotte?
O è mutato in ciel muovo consiglio,
Che dannati venite alle mie grotte?'

Pisces in March and April of that year. See Moore, III, 372, and *Modern Language Review*, III, 376.

29. *Altro*, i.e., north. The Wain, or Big Dipper, had sunk below the horizon; in Europe, as Dante repeatedly notes, this constellation never sets.

32. *Dee* = *deve*.

39. As if the sun were shining upon Cato's face.

42. The 'venerable plumage' is his gray beard.

48. *Grotte*, 'banks' (as almost always in Dante), i.e., the cliffs of the mountain.

Lo Duca mio allor mi diè di piglio,
E, con parole e con mano e con cenni, 50
Riverenti mi fe' le gambe e il ciglio.
Poscia rispose lui: 'Da me non venni;
Donna scese del ciel, per li cui preghi
Della mia compagnia costui sovvenni.
Ma da ch' è tuo voler che più si spieghi 55
Di nostra condizion, com' ella è vera,
Esser non puote il mio che a te si neghi.
Questi non vide mai l' ultima sera,
Ma per la sua follia le fu sì presso
Che molto poco tempo a volger era. 60
Sì come io dissi, fui mandato ad esso
Per lui campare, e non v' era altra via
Che questa per la quale io mi son messo.
Mostrato ho lui tutta la gente ria;
Ed ora intendo mostrar quegli spirti 65
Che purgan sè sotto la tua balìa.
Come io l' ho tratto, saria lungo a dirti:
Dell' alto scende virtù che m' aiuta
Conducerlo a vederti ed a udirti.
Or ti piaccia gradir la sua venuta: 70
Libertà va cercando, che è sì cara
Come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta.
Tu il sai; chè non ti fu per lei amara
In Utica la morte, ove lasciasti
La vesta che al gran dì sarà sì chiara. 75

49. *Mi diè* (=*diede*) *di piglio*, 'laid hold of me.' Cf. *Inf.* XXII, 73.
52. Cf. *Inf.* X, 61.
57. *Puote* = *può*. — *Il mio*, sc., *voler*.
62. Cf. *Inf.* II, 68.
71. See Romans viii, 21: 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.' Cf. *Purg.* XXVII, 140.
75. *Vesta* = *veste*, i. e., the body, which, on the day of resurrection, shall be clothed with the glory of brightness.

Non son gli editti eterni per noi guasti;
  Chè questi vive, e Minos me non lega;
  Ma son del cerchio ove son gli occhi casti
Di Marzia tua, che in vista ancor ti prega,
  O santo petto, che per tua la tegni. 80
  Per lo suo amore adunque a noi ti piega.
Lasciane andar per li tuoi sette regni;
  Grazie riporterò di te a lei,
  Se d' esser mentovato laggiù degni.
'Marzia piacque tanto agli occhi miei, 85
  Mentre ch' io fui di là,' diss' egli allora,
  'Che quante grazie volse da me, fei.
Or che di là dal mal fiume dimora,
  Più mover non mi può, per quella legge
  Che fatta fu quando me n' uscii fuora. 90
Ma se donna del ciel ti move e regge,
  Come tu di', non c' è mestier lusinghe:
  Bastiti ben che per lei mi richegge.
Va dunque, e fa che tu costui ricinghe
  D' un giunco schietto, e che gli lavi il viso 95

76. *Guasti*, 'broken.'
77. Dante is still alive, and Minos, the judge of Hell, does not bind Virgil, who dwells in the Limbus.
79. Martia was mentioned among the dwellers in Limbus in *Inf.* IV, 128.
80. Cf. *Phars.*, IX, 561, 'tua pectora sancta'; and *Conv.*, IV, v, 140–1, 'O sacratissimo petto di Catone, chi presumerà di te parlare?'
82. *Ne* = *ci.* — *Sette regni:* the seven circles of Purgatory.
87. *Fei* = *feci.*
89, 90. When Cato, with the patriarchs, was released from Limbus by Christ, he became subject to the law which forbids the blessed to be moved by the fate of the damned. Cf. *Inf.* II, 91–3; XX, 28–30. Before the descent of Christ the law did not exist, because there were no blessed: cf. *Inf.* IV, 52–63.
92. *Di'* = *dici.*
93. *Richegge* = *richieda*. Cf. *regge* = *rieda* in *Inf.* X, 82.
94, 96. *Ricinghe* = *ricinga; stinghe* = *stinga*, 'cleanse.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 635–6. The rush, the symbol of humility, takes the place of the girdle of self-confidence which Dante cast off in *Inf.* XVI, 106 ff. The washing in pure dew removes *tristitia*, the gloom of past sin. Dante starts on his upward journey in a spirit of humility and cheerfulness.

Sì che ogni sucidume quindi stinghe;
Chè non si converria l' occhio sorpriso
D' alcuna nebbia andar dinanzi al primo
Ministro, ch' è di quei di Paradiso.
Questa isoletta intorno ad imo ad imo, 100
Laggiù colà dove la batte l' onda,
Porta de' giunchi sopra il molle limo.
Null' altra pianta, che facesse fronda
O indurasse, vi puote aver vita,
Perocchè alle percosse non seconda. 105
Poscia non sia di qua vostra reddita;
Lo sol vi mostrerà, che surge omai,
Prender lo monte a più lieve salita.'
Così sparì; ed io su mi levai
Senza parlare, e tutto mi ritrassi 110
Al Duca mio, e gli occhi a lui drizzai.
Ei cominciò: 'Figliuol, segui i miei passi;
Volgiamci indietro, chè di qua dichina
Questa pianura a' suoi termini bassi.'
L' alba vinceva l' ôra mattutina 115
Che fuggia innanzi, sì che di lontano
Conobbi il tremolar della marina.
Noi andavam per lo solingo piano
Com' uom che torna alla perduta strada,
Che infine ad essa gli par ire in vano. 120

97. *L' occhio sorpriso*, 'with eye overcast.'
99. The guardians of Purgatory are angels.
100. *Imo*, 'bottom.'
105. *Seconda*, 'yields.'
106. *Reddita*, 'return.'
107. The sun, here as elsewhere, symbolizes intelligence, or righteous choice.
115–6. The early morning breeze dies away as the sun rises. Some editors print *ora*, 'hour.'
117. Cf. *Æn.*, VII, 9: 'splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.' In Virgil, however, the light is that of the moon.

Quando noi fummo dove la rugiada
  Pugna col sole, e, per essere in parte
  Dove adorezza, poco si dirada,
Ambo le mani in su l' erbetta sparte
  Soavemente il mio Maestro pose; 125
  Ond' io, che fui accorto di su' arte,
Porsi ver lui le guance lagrimose.
  Quivi mi fece tutto discoperto
  Quel color che l' inferno mi nascose.
Venimmo poi in sul lito diserto, 130
  Che mai non vide navicar sue acque
  Uomo che di tornar sia poscia esperto.
Quivi mi cinse sì come altrui piacque.
  O maraviglia! chè qual egli scelse
  L' umile pianta, cotal si rinacque 135
Subitamente là onde la svelse.

121–3. The dew resists the sun, because, being in a place where it is cool (*adorezza*), it evaporates but little.

127. *Ver* = *verso*.

128–9. He uncovered my natural complexion, hidden under the fumes of Hell.

132. Witness the fate of Ulysses: *Inf*. XXVI, 130 ff.

133. *Sì come altrui piacque*, 'as he was bidden.'

134–6. Tor. quotes Passavanti, *Trattato dell' umiltà*, III: 'L' umiltà non può essere vinta; però che delle ferite rinvigorisce, delle infermità rinforza, della povertà arricchisce, del danno cresce, della morte rivivisce.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 143–4:

'Primo avulso non deficit alter
Aureus; et simili frondescit virga metallo.'

CANTO II

ARGUMENT

The souls destined to pass through Purgatory to Heaven are wafted across the great ocean in a swift bark directed by an angelic pilot, even as the boatman of Hell ferries the wicked over Acheron. In the *Inferno*, III, 93, Charon referred to this 'lighter craft' as the boat which is to carry Dante after death. From the shore of the island, the two poets watch its approach, and at first neither can make out what is coming; all that is seen is a bright star on the horizon — the shining face of the angel. Then the wings appear on either side, and finally the white robe beneath. Virgil is the first to recognize the stranger's heavenly office. The celestial visage is too dazzling for human sight, and Dante's eyes are blinded, as they are subsequently by the guardian angels of Purgatory. The souls in the skiff, happy and eager to begin their purification, are all singing together Psalm cxiv (Vulg. cxiii), 'When Israel went out of Egypt.' In *Convivio*, II, i, 52–65, Dante uses this psalm as an example of anagogical, or spiritual, symbolism: thus understood, it means — he says — that the soul going forth from sin becomes holy and free. In the Letter to Can Grande, 7, the same passage serves to illustrate all four modes of interpretation, and the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical significances are all explained. As sung by the released spirits, the verses evidently celebrate 'the going forth of the blessed soul from the slavery of this corruption to the freedom of eternal glory.'

Among the newly arrived, Dante recognizes his friend Casella, the musician, and vainly tries to embrace his ethereal form. The apparent tangibility or intangibility of spirits in Dante's Hell and Purgatory was discussed in the Argument to Canto VI of the *Inferno*, and for the sake of convenience the commentary there given may be repeated here. Throughout Hell the souls, though without weight, are not only visible and audible, but tangible. On the lower slopes of the mountain of Purgatory, however, Dante cannot touch a shade (*Purg.* II, 79 ff.), although two spirits can still embrace (*Purg.* VI, 75); and near the summit one soul apparently

cannot clasp another (*Purg.* XXI, 130 ff.) In *Purg.* XXV, 79 ff., we are informed that after death the atmosphere collects around the departed spirit, forming an aërial body, which reflects all the emotions of the soul itself. Although Dante nowhere says so explicitly, it would seem that he chose to regard this airy shape as more substantial in proportion to its proximity to the centre of gravity of the universe (which is also the centre of sin), and more ethereal as it rises above the earth's surface. This conception of the shade appears to be to a great extent Dante's own, although St. Thomas mentions the power of angels and devils to assume aërial forms, and St. Augustine says in the *Liber de Cognitione Veræ Vitæ*, Cap. XL: 'Animæ etiam defunctorum cum viventibus apparent, corpus aerium induunt, in quo corpoream vocem vel verba audibilia exprimunt.'

Our poet was addicted, not only to mystery and enigma, but also to puzzles of all kinds, especially astronomical riddles; and he credited his readers with the same proclivity. We find many of them in the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*, oftenest in the opening lines of a canto. The one with which the present canto begins is not altogether easy. It must be understood that the *meridian* of any place on earth is a great circle in the sky, passing directly over that spot and crossing the two heavenly poles. The *horizon* of a given place is a great circle in the sky, running around the globe 90° from its meridian. The planes of the meridian and the horizon are therefore always at right angles to each other; the horizon of the north pole, for instance, is the celestial equator — which is also the horizon of the south pole, because the two poles are 180° apart. Inasmuch as Jerusalem and Purgatory are on opposite sides of the earth, 180° from each other, they have a common horizon: when Jerusalem sees the sun rise, Purgatory sees it set, and *vice versa*. The difference in time between the two places is just twelve hours, so that Jerusalem's noon is Purgatory's midnight, six A. M. in Jerusalem is six P. M. in Purgatory, etc. The first three lines of the canto mean, then, that the sun, in its daily revolution, has descended to the horizon of Jerusalem — 'that horizon, the highest point of whose meridian is over Jerusalem.' But this is also the horizon of Purgatory: the sun, which is setting for Jerusalem, is rising for Purgatory. Now Dante often speaks of *night* as if it were a point in the heavens directly opposed to the sun; so here he says that night, 'circling opposite' the sun, was rising for Jerusalem. He represents it as coming forth from the Ganges; this river, which flowed on the eastern confines of the

inhabited world, 90° from Jerusalem, stood for the *east* just as the Strait of Gibraltar (or Cadiz or Seville) stood for the *west*. The sun, then, for an observer in Jerusalem, was on the western horizon, night was on the eastern. In Purgatory, of course, these conditions were reversed. But Dante states, furthermore, that night was rising 'with the Scales.' The sun, from March 21 to April 21, is in the sign of Aries; and the sign of the Zodiac opposite Aries is Libra: night, therefore, conceived as a point 180° from the sun, may be described as being, on April 10, in Libra, the constellation of the Scales. Libra remains a night constellation until Sept. 21, the autumnal equinox, when the sun passes into that sign; and as Sept. 21 is the date after which the nights begin to grow longer than the days, Dante fancifully adds that the Scales in question are those which fall from the hands of Night at the time when she surpasses the Day. In this devious and ingenious way we are told that for the spectators on the Island of Purgatory the sun was rising.

For the solidity of shades, see: G. Gargano-Cosenza, *La saldezza delle ombre nel poema dantesco*, 1902; R. Petrosemolo, *La saldezza delle ombre nella Divina Commedia*, 1902; *Bull.*, X, 79. Cf. St. Augustine, *Liber de Spiritu et Anima*, Cap. XXIV: 'Anima est substantia spiritualis, simplex et indissolubilis, invisibilis et incorporea, passibilis atque mutabilis, carens pondere, figura et colore.' For an allegorical explanation of the delay of Casella, see Adele Mondolfi in *A Vittorio Cian i suoi scolari dell' Università di Pisa*, 1910, p. 29.

Già era il sole all' orizzonte giunto
  Lo cui meridïan cerchio coperchia
  Jerusalem col suo più alto punto;
E la notte, che opposita a lui cerchia,
  Uscia di Gange fuor colle bilance, 5
  Che le caggion di man quando soperchia;
Sì che le bianche e le vermiglie guance,
  Là dove io era, della bella Aurora
  Per troppa etate divenivan rance.
Noi eravam lunghesso il mare ancora, 10
  Come gente che pensa a suo cammino,

6. *Caggion* = *cadono*. — *Soperchia* = 'she exceeds,' i. e., grows longer than the day.
9. *Rance*, 'orange.' The poet playfully transfers to the face of the goddess of dawn the changing colors of the morning sky.

Che va col core, e col corpo dimora:
Ed ecco qual, sul presso del mattino,
Per li grossi vapor Marte rosseggia
Giù nel ponente sopra il suol marino, 15
Cotal m' apparve, s' io ancor lo veggia,
Un lume per lo mar venir sì ratto
Che il mover suo nessun volar pareggia;
Dal qual com' io un poco ebbi ritratto
L' occhio, per domandar lo Duca mio, 20
Rividil più lucente e maggior fatto.
Poi d' ogni lato ad esso m' apparìo
Un non sapeva che bianco, e di sotto
A poco a poco un altro a lui uscìo.
Lo mio Maestro ancor non fece motto, 25
Mentre che i primi bianchi apparser ali;
Allor che ben conobbe il galeotto,
Gridò: 'Fa, fa che le ginocchia cali!
Ecco l' Angel di Dio — piega le mani!
Omai vedrai di sì fatti officiali. 30
Vedi che sdegna gli argomenti umani,
Sì che remo non vuol, nè altro velo
Che l' ali sue, tra liti sì lontani.
Vedi come l' ha dritte verso il cielo,
Trattando l' aere con l' eterne penne, 35
Che non si mutan come mortal pelo.'
Poi come più e più verso noi venne

13. *Presso*, 'approach.'
16. *S' io ancor lo veggia* (= *veda*), 'as I hope to behold it again,' i. e., after death, when my soul shall in reality be wafted to Purgatory. For *se* with the subjunctive, used in a formula of asseveration or adjuration, see *Inf.* X, 82.
21. *Rividil* = *lo rividi*.
22, 24. *Apparìo* = *apparì*; *uscìo* = *uscì*. Such forms were current in Dante's time.
30. The guardians of Purgatory are 'such ministers' as this: namely, angels.
31. *Argomenti*, 'instruments.'

L' uccel divino, più chiaro appariva;
Per che l' occhio da presso nol sostenne,
Ma chinai 'l giuso; e quei sen venne a riva 40
Con un vasello snelletto e leggiero
Tanto che l' acqua nulla ne inghiottiva.
Da poppa stava il celestial nocchiero,
Tal che parea beato per iscripto;
E più di cento spirti entro sediero. 45
In exitu Israel de Ægypto
Cantavan tutti insieme ad una voce,
Con quanto di quel salmo è poscia scripto.
Poi fece il segno lor di santa croce;
Ond' ei si gittar tutti in sulla piaggia, 50
Ed ei sen gì, come venne, veloce.
La turba che rimase lì selvaggia
Parea del loco, rimirando intorno,
Come colui che nuove cose assaggia.
Da tutte parti saettava il giorno 55
Lo sol, ch' avea colle saette conte
Di mezzo il ciel cacciato Capricorno,
Quando la nuova gente alzò la fronte
Ver noi, dicendo a noi: 'Se voi sapete,

39. *Nol* = *non lo*.
40. *Sen* = *se ne*.
44, 46, 48. *Iscripto, scripto* = *iscritto, scritto*. In Dante's day *tt* was very often written *ct* or *pt*; here the Latin *pt* is kept, to preserve, for the eye, the correspondence with *Ægypto*, which was (and in Italy is still) pronounced *Egitto*. *Parea beato per iscripto*, 'he seemed blest by inscription,' i. e., 'he seemed to have the word "blest" inscribed upon him'; some texts have *pur descripto* for *per iscripto*.
45. *Sediero* = *sederono*. The preterit is used here instead of the imperfect.
50. *Gittar* = *gittarono*.
51. *Sen gì* = *se ne andò*: *gì* is from *gire*.
52. *Selvaggia*, 'strange.'
56. *Conte*, 'sure': cf *Inf*. XXXIII, 31.
57. At dawn the constellation of Capricorn was on the meridian; it is effaced by the rays of the rising sun.
59. *Ver* = *verso*.

Mostratene la via di gire al monte.' 60
E Virgilio rispose: 'Voi credete
Forse che siamo esperti d' esto loco;
Ma noi siam peregrin, come voi siete.
Dianzi venimmo, innanzi a voi un poco,
Per altra via che fu sì aspra e forte 65
Che lo salire omai ne parrà gioco.'
L' anime che si fur di me accorte,
Per lo spirare, ch' io era ancor vivo,
Maravigliando diventaro smorte;
E come a messaggier che porta olivo 70
Tragge la gente per udir novelle,
E di calcar nessun si mostra schivo,
Così al viso mio s' affissar quelle
Anime fortunate tutte quante,
Quasi obbliando d' ire a farsi belle. 75
Io vidi una di lor trarsi davante
Per abbracciarmi, con sì grande affetto
Che mosse me a far lo simigliante.
O ombre vane, fuor che nell' aspetto!
Tre volte retro a lei le mani avvinsi, 80
E tante mi tornai con esse al petto.
Di maraviglia, credo, mi dipinsi;
Per che l' ombra sorrise e si ritrasse,

62. *Esto loco:* cf. *Inf.* I, 93.
65. *Aspra e forte:* cf. *Inf.* I, 5.
67. *Fur* =*furono*.
69. *Smorte*, 'pale.'
70. Bearers of good tidings used to carry an olive branch.
71. *Tragge*, 'presses.'
72. *Di calcar . . . schivo*, 'shy of (i. e., afraid of) crowding.'
73. *Affissar* =*affissarono*.
74. The souls on this island all seem to Dante 'fortunate,' elect, and happy, because they have come to 'make themselves beautiful' for Paradise.
80. So Æneas, on meeting the shade of Anchises (*Æn.*, VI, 700–1):

'Ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum,
Ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago.'

Ed io seguendo lei oltre mi pinsi.
Soavemente disse ch' io posasse; 85
Allor conobbi chi era, e 'l pregai
Che per parlarmi un poco s' arrestasse.
Risposemi: 'Così com' io t' amai
Nel mortal corpo, così t' amo sciolta;
Però m' arresto: ma tu perchè vai?' 90
'Casella mio, per tornare altra volta
Là dove son, fo io questo viaggio,'
Diss' io; 'ma a te com' è tanta ora tolta?'
Ed egli a me: 'Nessun m' è fatto oltraggio,
Se quei che leva e quando e cui gli piace 95
Più volte m' ha negato esto passaggio;
Chè di giusto voler lo suo si face.
Veramente da tre mesi egli ha tolto
Chi ha voluto entrar con tutta pace.
Ond' io che era ora alla marina volto, 100
Dove l' acqua di Tevere s' insala,

84. *Pinsi*, 'pushed.'
85. *Posasse* = *posassi*.
89. *Sciolta*, 'released,' is feminine because the speaker is an *ombra*.
91. Of Casella we know only that he was a musician of Florence; a little of his music is preserved. From this passage we may infer that he was a close friend of the poet, and, perhaps, that he set to music Dante's *canzone* (the second in the *Convivio*), *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*.
92. Dante's present experience is intended to fit him to return to Purgatory after death.
93. 'How hast thou been robbed of so much time?' Casella, evidently, had died some time before, and Dante is astonished to see him just arrived in the other world.
95. *Quei*: the angelic boatman.
97. His will depends on that of God. The greater or less delay imposed upon various souls appears to be a manifestation of God's mysterious judgment, the same predestination that assigns ranks in Heaven. This curious detail was probably suggested by the scene on the bank of the Styx in *Æn.*, VI, 313 ff.
98. *Veramente*, 'nevertheless': so generally in Dante. — The souls of the dead are allowed to participate in the plenary indulgence granted by Boniface VIII, from the beginning of 1300, to pilgrims to the great Jubilee of that year.
101. The Tiber's mouth signifies allegorically the Church of Rome. There congregate the souls of those who die in the bosom of the Church. The souls of the unrepentant, on the other hand, descend to Acheron.

Benignamente fui da lui ricolto.
A quella foce ha egli or dritta l' ala;
Però che sempre quivi si ricoglie
Qual verso d' Acheronte non si cala.' 105
Ed io: 'Se nuova legge non ti toglie
Memoria o uso all' amoroso canto,
Che mi solea quetar tutte mie voglie,
Di ciò ti piaccia consolare alquanto
L' anima mia, che con la sua persona 110
Venendo qui è affannata tanto.'
Amor che nella mente mi ragiona,
Cominciò egli allor sì dolcemente
Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.
Lo mio Maestro, ed io, e quella gente 115
Ch' eran con lui, parevan sì contenti
Come a nessun toccasse altro la mente.
Noi eravam tutti fissi ed attenti
Alle sue note; ed ecco il veglio onesto,
Gridando: 'Che è ciò, spiriti lenti? 120
Qual negligenza, quale stare è questo?
Correte al monte a spogliarvi lo scoglio
Ch' esser non lascia a voi Dio manifesto.'
Come quando, cogliendo biado o loglio,
Li colombi adunati alla pastura, 125
Queti, senza mostrar l' usato orgoglio,
Se cosa appare ond' elli abbian paura,
Subitamente lasciano star l' esca,

103. The angel has already started back toward the Tiber.
110. *Persona,* 'body.'
117. 'As if none of us were mindful of aught else.'
119. Cato reappears, rebuking the souls for their negligence. When we have assumed the task of cleansing our souls from guilt, no pleasure, however innocent, should divert us from our purpose.
122. *Scoglio,* 'slough,' 'scales.'

Perchè assaliti son da maggior cura,
Così vid' io quella masnada fresca 130
Lasciar lo canto, e gire in ver la costa,
Come uom che va, nè sa dove riesca;
Nè la nostra partita fu men tosta.

CANTO III

ARGUMENT

Where the circular mountain descends to the shore, a high cliff forms its base all around; and outside this cliff creep the souls of those who died excommunicated but repentant. Like the other classes of the 'negligent,' whom we shall meet later, they are compelled to postpone their entrance into Purgatory until they have made amends for their neglect. The contumacious spirits of this canto are condemned to wait thirty times as long as their contumacy lasted. Dante here insists upon the doctrine that the eternal fate of the soul depends upon its real state at the moment of death, and not upon the blessing or anathema of the Church. 'By their curse' — the curse of the clergy — 'the eternal love is not irrevocably lost, so long as hope has a bit of green.' According to St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xxi, Art. 4, an unjust excommunication is ineffective. Nevertheless, their rebellion against God's earthly vicar demands expiation, and their humble waiting at the very foot of the mountain is a fitting atonement. This penalty Dante seems to have assigned on his own authority.

Among the excluded is Manfred, the natural son of the Emperor Frederick II, crowned King of Sicily in 1258. Handsome, cultivated, winning, able in war and peace, he was the idolized chief of the Ghibellines and, like his father, the hated and excommunicated opponent of the Papacy. In February, 1266, on a plain near Benevento, he was defeated and slain by St. Louis's brother, Charles of Anjou, to whom two Popes, Urban IV and Clement IV, had offered the throne of Sicily. His body was interred on the battlefield, at the end of the Valentino bridge, on the right bank of the Calore; and a mound of stones was piled over the grave. But this land was Church property. When Clement heard of the burial, he sent the Archbishop of Cosenza to cast out the corpse, and Manfred's remains were deposited, with no funeral rites, outside the kingdom he had lost, on the bank of the Garigliano, or 'Verde,' which formed a part of its northern boundary. Dante's is the earliest account we have of this episode.

When Manfred has appeared to Dante, and the latter has 'modestly disclaimed' previous acquaintance with him, he reveals himself as the grandson of the Empress Constance, who, in the *Paradiso* III, 118, is called 'la gran Costanza.' Daughter and heiress of Roger I of Sicily, the last of the Norman kings, she married the Emperor Henry VI, the second of the Swabians, and gave birth to Frederick II. Manfred named his daughter after her. This second Constance, wedded in 1262 to Peter III of Aragon (cf. VII, 112 ff.), was the mother of Frederick and James, who became kings respectively of Sicily and Aragon. Their loving grandfather here calls them 'the glory' of these kingdoms; Dante himself, as we learn from various passages in his works, had a different opinion of them. Manfred hopes that his daughter, when she knows his state, will shorten by prayer his term of exclusion. The belief that the journey of repentant souls to Heaven is hastened by the prayers of the living is an accepted doctrine of the Church, and Dante repeatedly dwells upon it. Manfred's repentance and consequent salvation are probably not of Dante's invention. In the *Imago Mundi* of Jacopo da Acqui, written only some ten or twenty years after Dante's time, it is recorded that Manfred saved himself by exclaiming just before death: 'Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori!' The incident as it appears in the *Purgatorio* is, therefore, presumably based on a tradition already current. If the passage was written as late as 1317, it has a particular significance, for in that year another great Ghibelline leader, Dante's patron, Can Grande della Scala, was excommunicated by John XXII. He remained under the ban until his death.

For Dante's opinion of Manfred's grandsons, see: *Conv.*, IV, vi, 182–3; *Vulg. El.*, I, xii, 35–7; *Purg.* VII, 119–20; *Par.* XIX, 130–4; *Par.* XX, 63. For Manfred and his salvation: E. Gorra, *Fra drammi e poemi*, 1900, *Per la genesi della Divina Commedia*, p. 155; F. Novati, *Indagini e postille dantesche*, Serie prima, 1899, *Come Manfredi s' è salvato*. For the doctrine of prayers for the dead: 2 Macc. xii, 46; St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. lxxi, Art. 2 and 6. For the excommunication of Can Grande, C. Cipolla, *Lettere di Giovanni XXII riguardanti Verona e gli Scaligeri*, 1909 (cf. E. G. Parodi in *Il Marzocco*, Apr. 10, 1910).

Avvegna che la subitana fuga
  Dispergesse color per la campagna,
  Rivolti al monte ove ragion ne fruga;

1. *Avvegna che* (sometimes printed as one word), 'although.'
3. *Fruga*, 'goads.'

Io mi ristrinsi alla fida compagna.
E come sare' io senza lui corso? 5
Chi m' avria tratto su per la montagna?
Ei mi parea da sè stesso rimorso.
O dignitosa coscienza e netta,
Come t' è picciol fallo amaro morso!
Quando li piedi suoi lasciar la fretta, 10
Che l' onestade ad ogni atto dismaga,
La mente mia, che prima era ristretta,
Lo intento rallargò, sì come vaga,
E diedi il viso mio incontro al poggio
Che inverso il ciel più alto si dislaga. 15
Lo sol, che retro fiammeggiava roggio,
Rotto m' era dinanzi, alla figura
Ch' aveva in me de' suoi raggi l' appoggio.
Io mi volsi dallato con paura
D' esser abbandonato, quand' io vidi 20
Solo dinanzi a me la terra oscura;
E il mio conforto: 'Perchè pur diffidi?'
A dir mi cominciò tutto rivolto;
'Non credi tu me teco, e ch' io ti guidi?
Vespero è già colà dov' è sepolto 25

7. Reason itself has momentarily been at fault.
10. *Lasciar* =*lasciarono*.
11. *Dismaga*, 'removes': cf. XXVII, 104. Haste 'deprives every act of dignity': cf. VI, 63.
13. *Vaga*, 'curious.'
15. *Si dislaga*, 'unlakes itself,' i. e., rises from the great lake of the ocean.
16. The poets begin their journey on the east side of the island. When Dante turns and faces the mountain, the rising sun is behind him.
17, 18. *Alla figura*, etc., 'in that shape which the stoppage of its rays had in me': the shadow has the same outline as the body which, by obstructing the sunlight, casts the shade.
21. Until now Dante has not had occasion to observe that spirits cast no shadow, and he is startled on seeing his own shadow without Virgil's. In several passages of the *Purgatorio* the poet makes effective use of the opaqueness of the human body.
25–7. 'The body in which I (the soul) used to cast a shadow is buried in a

Lo corpo dentro al quale io facea ombra:
Napoli l' ha, e da Brandizio è tolto.
Ora, se innanzi a me nulla s' adombra,
Non ti maravigliar più che de' cieli,
Che l' uno all' altro raggio non ingombra. 30
A sofferir tormenti, caldi e gieli
Simili corpi la Virtù dispone,
Che, come fa, non vuol che a noi si sveli.
Matto è chi spera che nostra ragione
Possa trascorrer la infinita via 35
Che tiene una sustanzia in tre persone.
State contenti, umana gente, al *quia;*
Chè se potuto aveste veder tutto,
Mestier non era partorir Maria;
E disïar vedeste senza frutto 40
Tai, che sarebbe lor disio quetato,
Ch' eternalmente è dato lor per lutto.
Io dico d' Aristotele e di Plato
E di molti altri.' E qui chinò la fronte;

place where it is now evening.' *Vespero* is the last three hours of the day. Italy, according to Dante's geography, is midway between Jerusalem and Gibraltar, that is, 45°, or three hours, west of Jerusalem; its time is therefore three hours earlier than that of Jerusalem. It is some time after sunrise in Purgatory, as long after sunset in Jerusalem, and the same amount after mid-afternoon in Italy. — Virgil died in Brundusium, but was buried by Augustus in Naples.

30. The nine concentric heavens being transparent, no one of them screens the sun's light from another. Cf. *Conv.*, II, vii, 89–100.

31. Cf. *Inf.* III, 87.

32. *La Virtù*, 'that Power.' See XXV, 79 ff.; also the second paragraph of the argument to Canto II.

36. *Che* is the object, *sustanzia* the subject: the course which the triune God pursues.

37. In scholastic logic a demonstration *a priori*, from cause to effect, was called *propter quid*, and a demonstration *a posteriori*, from effect to cause, was called *quia*. The line means, then: be satisfied with knowing the effects, and, through them, as far as may be, the maker; do not try to put yourselves in his place and guess his motives. Cf. *Conv.*, III, viii, 139–46.

38, 39. If man had been all-knowing, there would have been no sin, and consequently no atonement: 'Mary would not have had to bear child.'

40, 41. If human knowledge had sufficed, the vain longing of the ancient sages (which torments them through eternity) would have been satisfied.

E più non disse, e rimase turbato. 45
Noi divenimmo intanto al piè del monte.
Quivi trovammo la roccia sì erta,
Che indarno vi sarien le gambe pronte.
Tra Lerici e Turbìa, la più diserta,
La più romita via è una scala, 50
Verso di quella, agevole ed aperta.
'Or chi sa da qual man la costa cala,'
Disse il Maestro mio, fermando il passo,
'Sì che possa salir chi va senz' ala?'
E mentre ch' ei teneva 'l viso basso, 55
E esaminava del cammin la mente,
Ed io mirava suso intorno al sasso,
Da man sinistra m' apparì una gente
D' anime, che movieno i piè ver noi,
E non parevan, sì venivan lente. 60
'Leva,' diss' io, 'Maestro, gli occhi tuoi:
Ecco di qua chi ne darà consiglio,
Se tu da te medesmo aver nol puoi.'
Guardò a loro, e con libero piglio
Rispose: 'Andiamo in là, ch' ei vegnon piano; 65
E tu ferma la speme, dolce figlio.'

45. Once more we have a pathetic reminder that Virgil is one of those whose desire will never be stilled.

48. *Sarien=sarebbero.*

49. *Turbìa* is near Monaco; *Lèrici* is on the Gulf of Spezia, near Sarzana, where Dante was in 1306. Between these places the mountains descend steeply to the sea.

51. *Verso di,* 'compared with.'

56. Virgil questions 'his mind about the road.' Reason looks within itself for knowledge; the human Dante looks without, and this time his method is the more successful.

59. *Movieno = movevano.* — *Ver=verso.*

64. *A loro:* some texts have *allora.* — *Libero piglio,* 'an air of relief.' Cf. *Inf.* XXII, 75.

65. In Hell the regular course is to the left; in Purgatory, always to the right. Virgil and Dante, however, now turn to the left (i. e., the south) to join the slowly approaching crowd; hence the astonishment of the shades, ll. 70–2.

Ancora era quel popol di lontano, —
Dico dopo li nostri mille passi, —
Quanto un buon gittator trarria con mano,
Quando si strinser tutti ai duri massi 70
Dell' alta ripa, e stetter fermi e stretti,
Come, a guardar, chi va dubbiando stassi.
'O ben finiti, o già spiriti eletti,'
Virgilio incominciò, 'per quella pace
Ch' io credo che per voi tutti si aspetti, 75
Ditene dove la montagna giace
Sì che possibil sia l' andare in suso;
Chè perder tempo a chi più sa più spiace.'
Come le pecorelle escon del chiuso
Ad una, a due, a tre, e l' altre stanno 80
Timidette atterrando l' occhio e il muso,
E ciò che fa la prima, e l' altre fanno,
Addossandosi a lei s' ella s' arresta,
Semplici e quete, e lo 'mperchè non sanno:
Si vid' io movere a venir la testa 85
Di quella mandria fortunata allotta,
Pudica in faccia, e nell' andare onesta.
Come color dinanzi vider rotta
La luce in terra dal mio destro canto,
Sì che l' ombra era da me alla grotta, 90
Restaro, e trasser sè in retro alquanto,
E tutti gli altri che venieno appresso,

73. The fate of the souls on this island seems to Virgil the more happy by comparison with his own.
78. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, ii, 88–90.
82. *E l' altre*, 'the others likewise.' Cf. *Inf.* XIX, 3.
84. *Imperchè*, 'wherefore.'
89. As Dante is now facing south, the morning sun is at his left and his shadow falls on the cliff at his right.
91. *Restaro* = *restarono*.
92. *Venieno* = *venivano*.

Non sapendo il perchè, fenno altrettanto.
'Senza vostra domanda io vi confesso
Che questo è corpo uman che voi vedete, 95
Per che il lume del sole in terra è fesso.
Non vi maravigliate; ma credete
Che non senza virtù che dal ciel vegna
Cerchi di soperchiar questa parete.'
Così il Maestro: e quella gente degna: 100
'Tornate,' disse, 'intrate innanzi dunque,'
Coi dossi delle man facendo insegna.
Ed un di loro incominciò: 'Chiunque
Tu se', così andando volgi il viso!
Pon mente, se di là mi vedesti unque.' 105
Io mi volsi ver lui, e guardail fiso:
Biondo era e bello e di gentile aspetto;
Ma l' un de' cigli un colpo avea diviso.
Quand' io mi fui umilmente disdetto
D' averlo visto mai, ei disse: 'Or vedi!' 110
E mostrommi una piaga a sommo il petto.
Poi sorridendo disse: 'Io son Manfredi,
Nipote di Costanza Imperadrice:
Ond' io ti prego che, quando tu riedi,
Vadi a mia bella figlia, genitrice 115
Dell' onor di Cicilia e d' Aragona,
E dichi il vero a lei, s' altro si dice:
Poscia ch' i' ebbi rotta la persona
Di due punte mortali, io mi rendei
Piangendo a quei che volentier perdona. 120

93. *Fenno* =*fecero*.
99. *Cerchi*, 'he is striving.'
101. *Intrate*, 'proceed.'
115. *Vadi* = *vada*.
116. *Cicilia* is still used for *Sicilia*: cf. *Inf*. XII, 108.
117. *Dichi* = *dica*.

Orribil furon li peccati miei;
Ma la bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia
Che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei.
Se il pastor di Cosenza, che alla caccia
Di me fu messo per Clemente, allora 125
Avesse in Dio ben letta questa faccia,
L' ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora
In co del ponte presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora.
Or le bagna la pioggia e move il vento 130
Di fuor del regno, quasi lungo il Verde,
Dov' ei le trasmutò a lume spento.
Per lor maledizion sì non si perde
Che non possa tornar l' eterno amore,
Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde. 135
Ver è che quale in contumacia more
Di santa Chiesa, ancor che al fin si penta,
Star gli convien da questa ripa in fuore
Per ogni tempo ch' egli è stato, trenta,
In sua presunzïon, se tal decreto 140
Più corto per buon preghi non diventa.
Vedi oramai se tu mi puoi far lieto,
Rivelando alla mia buona Costanza
Come m' hai visto, ed anco esto divieto!
Chè qui per quei di là molto s' avanza.' 145

122. Cf. Ps. li (Vulg. l); also John vi, 37, 'him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.'

126. If the Archbishop of Cosenza, sent by Clement IV to hunt me down, 'had read aright this page in God's book' — i. e., one of the passages referred to in the preceding note.

128. *Co* is a dialect form for *capo:* cf. *Inf.* XX, 76.

129. *Mora,* 'pile' of stones.

132. *A lume spento:* without candles, as was customary in the burial of the excommunicated.

135. Green is the color of hope.

138. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 327–30.

144. *Divieto:* the 'prohibition' of entering Purgatory.

CANTO IV

ARGUMENT

The top of the cliff can be reached only by crawling up through a crack in the rock, so narrow that it crowds the climbers on either side. Above is an open slope, difficult of ascent. On this declivity, lazily reclining in the shade of a boulder, are the shades of the 'negligent' of the second class — those who postponed repentance through indolence. They must wait outside of Purgatory for a period equal to their life on earth. Among them is the mocking, humorous Florentine called Belacqua, evidently a friend of our poet, and, according to the early commentators, a maker of musical instruments. His real name was probably Duccio di Bonavia. He first betrays his presence by his amusement at Dante's naïve surprise on seeing the sun at the left, or north, as he faces east. As the sun's course is confined within the tropics, it is always south of the north temperate, and north of the south temperate zone. The European observer, in the middle of the morning, sees the sun in the southeast; Dante now beholds it in the northeast. Something similar was noted by Lucan in his *Pharsalia*, III, 247–8 and IX, 538–9:

> 'Ignotum vobis, Arabes, venistis in orbem,
> Umbras mirati nemorum non ire sinistras.'

> 'At tibi, quæcumque es Libyco gens igne diremta,
> In Noton umbra cadit, quæ nobis exit in Arcton.'

In the opening lines of this canto Dante discusses a psychological phenomenon to which he reverts more than once. The attention, he says, can be so monopolized by one of the senses that the mind is dead to all other perceptions. According to the Aristotelian philosophy, 'l' anima principalmente,' he tells us in *Conv.*, III, ii, 85–6, 'ha tre potenze, cioè vivere, sentire, e ragionare.' Compare *Vulg. El.*, II, ii, 46–55. These three powers — often called souls — are the vegetative, the sensitive, and the intellective. The vegetative power, possessed by all plants and animals, is simply life. Above it is the sensitive, or power of feeling, which belongs to animals. 'E questa sensitiva potenza è fonda-

mento della intellettiva, cioè della ragione' (l. c., 105–7), which is peculiar to man. How these powers are genetically related to one another is explained in *Purg.* XXV, 52–75. 'Quella anima che tutte queste potenze comprende,' adds Dante in *Conv.*, III, ii, 112–4, — meaning the soul of man, — 'è perfettissima di tutte l' altre.' The intellective power is, of course, the highest. Moreover (l. c., 122–3), 'in questa nobilissima parte dell' Anima sono più virtù' — there are several faculties, namely, knowledge, reason, judgment, etc. When the soul is all absorbed in the operation of one of the senses, no impressions can reach it from another sense; and, furthermore, the intellective power is then held in check, so that reason and judgment are inactive. On the other hand, the soul may be so engrossed by intellectual activity that the senses are dormant. An example of the former kind of absorption is given in *Conv.*, II, xiv, 187–93; 'Ancora la Musica trae a sè gli spiriti umani (che sono quasi principalmente vapori del cuore), sicchè quasi cessano da ogni operazione, — sì è l' anima intera quando l' ode, — e la virtù di tutti quasi corre allo spirito sensibile che riceve il suono.' The 'spirits' are the senses, which were thought of as fine vapors. The activity of all the other senses, then, is transferred to the sense of hearing. 'Sì è l' anima intera' seems to mean: 'the soul is so undisturbed' by any other faculty or power. The phrase 'l' anima intera' recurs in our canto, line 11.

For the doctrine of attention, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xxxvii, Art. 1.

Quando, per dilettanze ovver per doglie
  Che alcuna virtù nostra comprenda,
  L' anima bene ad essa si raccoglie,
Par che a nulla potenza più intenda;
  E questo è contra quello error che crede 5
  Che un' anima sopr' altra in noi s' accenda.

2. 'Which any force (of our sensitive power) experiences.'
3. *Si raccoglie*, 'concentrates.'
4. 'It (the soul) seems to care for no other power': the intellective power is inoperative.
5, 6. Dante adds parenthetically that this absorption of the soul in one faculty is a proof that the Platonists and the Manichæans, who maintain that man has several souls — 'one kindled upon another,' — are wrong: if we had two souls, we could attend to two things at once. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 3.

E però, quando s' ode cosa, o vede,
Che tenga forte a sè l' anima volta,
Vassene il tempo, e l' uom non se n' avvede.
Ch' altra potenza è quella che l' ascolta, 10
Ed altra quella che ha l' anima intera:
Questa è quasi legata, e quella è sciolta.
Di ciò ebb' io esperienza vera,
Udendo quello spirto ed ammirando;
Chè ben cinquanta gradi salito era 15
Lo sole, ed io non m' era accorto, quando
Venimmo dove quell' anime ad una
Gridaro a noi: 'Qui è vostro domando.'
Maggiore aperta molte volte impruna
Con una forcatella di sue spine 20
L' uom della villa, quando l' uva imbruna,
Che non era la calla onde salìne
Lo Duca mio ed io appresso, soli,
Come da noi la schiera si partìne.
Vassi in Sanleo e discendesi in Noli, 25
Montasi su Bismantova in cacume,

10. It is the sensitive power that listens.

11. 'It is a different one' — the intellective — 'which leaves the soul intact,' i. e., does not disturb it or attract its attention.

12. 'The latter' — the intellective power — 'is, as it were, bound; the former' — the sensitive — 'is free' to operate.

15. Inasmuch as fifteen degrees correspond to an hour of time, three hours and twenty minutes have passed since sunrise.

17. *Ad una*, 'together.'

18. *Vostro domando*, 'what you ask.'

19. *Impruna*, 'hedges up,' i. e., fills up a break in the hedge.

20. *Forcatella*, 'forkful.'

21. *Villa*, 'farm.' — *Imbruna*, 'is darkening,' i. e., ripening, and more likely to be stolen.

22. *Calla*, 'passage.' — *Salìne = salì:* the ending *ne* was often attached to verb forms ending in an accented vowel; cf. *Inf.* XI, 31, XVIII, 87.

24. *Partìne = partì.*

25. San Leo, or Leone, is on Monte Feltrato, a huge rock of sheer precipices. Noli, a little town on the shore, not far from Genoa, is at the foot of steep cliffs.

26. Bismantova is on the top of a high, bare peak in the Apennines, near Canossa.

Con esso i piè; ma qui convien ch' uom voli —
Dico con l' ali snelle e con le piume
Del gran disio, diretro a quel condotto
Che speranza mi dava e facea lume. 30
Noi salivam per entro il sasso rotto,
E d' ogni lato ne stringea lo stremo,
E piedi e man voleva il suol di sotto.
Poi che noi fummo in su l' orlo supremo
Dell' alta ripa, alla scoperta piaggia: 35
'Maestro mio,' diss' io, 'che via faremo?'
Ed egli a me: 'Nessun tuo passo caggia;
Pur su al monte, retro a me, acquista,
Fin che n' appaia alcuna scorta saggia.'
Lo sommo er' alto che vincea la vista, 40
E la costa superba più assai
Che da mezzo quadrante a centro lista.
Io era lasso, quando cominciai:
'O dolce padre, volgiti, e rimira
Com' io rimango sol, se non ristai.' 45
'Figliuol mio,' disse, 'infin quivi ti tira,'
Additandomi un balzo poco in sue,
Che da quel lato il poggio tutto gira.
Sì mi spronaron le parole sue
Ch' io mi sforzai, carpando appresso lui, 50
Tanto che il cinghio sotto i piè mi fue.

27. *Con esso i piè*, 'with one's own feet.' For the use of *esso* to reinforce a preposition, see *Inf.* XXIII, 54.
28. *Dico*, 'I mean.'
29. *Condotto*, 'guidance.'
37. *Caggia* = *cada*, 'fall back,' 'descend.'
42. The hillside was far steeper than a line (*lista*) drawn from the centre of a circle to the middle of one of its quadrants. Such a line makes an angle of 45°.
47. *Balzo*, 'ledge.' — *Sue* = *su*: words ending in an accented vowel, if they were followed by a pause, were lengthened in early Italian by the addition of an indistinct *e*. Cf. *giue* in *Inf.* XXXII, 53; see also *Inf.* IV, 56.
51. *Cinghio*, 'belt' of rock: the ledge. — *Fue* = *fu*.

A seder ci ponemmo ivi ambedui
  Volti a levante, ond' eravam saliti;
  Chè suole a riguardar giovare altrui.
Gli occhi prima drizzai a' bassi liti; 55
  Poscia gli alzai al sole, ed ammirava
  Che da sinistra n' eravam feriti.
Ben s' avvide il Poeta che io stava
  Stupido tutto al carro della luce,
  Dove tra noi ed Aquilone intrava. 60
Ond' egli a me: 'Se Castore e Polluce
  Fossero in compagnia di quello specchio
  Che su e giù del suo lume conduce,
Tu vederesti il Zodiaco rubecchio
  Ancora all' Orse più stretto rotare, 65
  Se non uscisse fuor del cammin vecchio.
Come ciò sia, se il vuoi poter pensare,
  Dentro raccolto, immagina Sïòn
  Con questo monte in sulla terra stare
Sì che amdedue hanno un solo orizzon 70

54. 'For it always cheers a man to look back' on the difficulties he has overcome.

60. *Aquilone*, 'Aquilo,' the north wind, often used, as here, for 'the north.'

61. Castor and Pollux compose the sign of Gemini, which accompanies the sun from May 21 to June 21. The clause means, then, 'if it were June (instead of April).'

62. The sun is often called a 'mirror,' because it reflects the divine light.

63. The sun 'leads with its light' on both sides of the equator, being half the year 'above' it, half the year 'below.'

64. The zodiac is the belt of constellations through which the sun passes in its annual slanting course around the earth. The 'ruddy zodiac' is the part in which the sun is — or, in other words, the sun itself.

65. The sun, in that case, would be 'circling' further north, — 'closer' to the Big and Little 'Bears,' or Dippers, — because the 21st of June is the day on which it reaches the point of its course furthest north of the equator.

66. Its 'old road' is the ecliptic, the annual path of the sun, which crosses the equator diagonally on March 21 and Septemper 21 (the equinoxes). On June 21 it is furthest north, on December 21 furthest south.

68. *Dentro raccolto*, 'turning thy mind within,' i. e., 'concentrating' thy faculties. — *Sion*, 'Mt. Zion.'

70. See the third paragraph of the Argument to Canto II. It must be re-

E diversi emisperi; onde la strada
Che mal non seppe carreggiar Feton
Vedrai come a costui convien che vada
Dall' un, quando a colui dall' altro fianco,
Se l' intelletto tuo ben chiaro bada.' 75
'Certo, Maestro mio,' diss' io, 'unquanco
Non vidi chiaro sì com' io discerno
Là dove mio ingegno parea manco.
Chè il mezzo cerchio del moto superno,
Che si chiama Equatore in alcun' arte, 80
E che sempre riman tra il sole e il verno,
Per la ragion che di', quinci si parte
Verso settentrïon quanto gli Ebrei
Vedevan lui verso la calda parte.
Ma se a te piace, volentier saprei 85
Quanto avemo ad andar; chè il poggio sale
Più che salir non posson gli occhi miei.'
Ed egli a me: 'Questa montagna è tale

membered that Mt. Zion, or Jerusalem, and the mountain of Purgatory are on opposite sides of the earth, separated by 180°, so that they have a common horizon midway between them. — *Orizzon* = *orizzonte*. The rhymes of ll. 68, 70, 72 are *tronche*: see *Inf.* IV, 56.

72. *Feton* = *Fetonte*, 'Phaëthon.' 'The road which, unhappily for him, he knew not how to drive' is the ecliptic. The story of Phaëthon's disastrous attempt to drive the chariot of the sun is told in *Met.*, II.

73, 74. The ecliptic 'must pass on one side' of Purgatory when it passes 'on the other side' of Zion. Jerusalem and Purgatory being in different hemispheres, on different sides of the equator and the tropics, it follows that when the sun is approaching one of these places, it is receding from the other; the more it is south of Jerusalem, the less it is north of Purgatory, and the less it is south of Jerusalem, the more it is north of Purgatory.

76. *Unquanco*, 'ever.' Cf. *Inf.* XXXIII, 139.

79. The 'mid circle' of the 'upper motion' — the revolution of the spheres — is the celestial equator. Cf. *Conv.*, III, v, 76, 144.

80. *Alcun' arte*, 'a certain science': astronomy.

81. It is winter in any place when the sun is on the other side of the equator from that place.

82. *Di'* = *dici*. — The equator is as far north from Purgatory, on one side of the globe, as it is south from Jerusalem, on the other.

86. *Avemo* = *abbiamo*.

Che sempre al cominciar di sotto è grave,
E quanto uom più va su, e men fa male. 90
Però quand' ella ti parrà soave
Tanto che il su andar ti fia leggiero
Come a seconda giù andar per nave,
Allor sarai al fin d' esto sentiero.
Quivi di riposar l' affanno aspetta. 95
Più non rispondo, e questo so per vero.'
E com' egli ebbe sua parola detta,
Una voce di presso sonò: 'Forse
Che di sedere in prima avrai distretta.'
Al suon di lei ciascun di noi si torse, 100
E vedemmo a mancina un gran petrone,
Del qual nè io nè ei prima s' accorse.
Là ci traemmo; ed ivi eran persone
Che si stavano all' ombra dietro al sasso,
Com' uom per negligenza a star si pone. 105
Ed un di lor, che mi sembrava lasso,
Sedeva ed abbracciava le ginocchia,
Tenendo il viso giù tra esse basso.
'O dolce Signor mio,' diss' io, 'adocchia
Colui che mostra sè più negligente 110
Che se pigrizia fosse sua sirocchia.'
Allor si volse a noi e pose mente,
Movendo il viso pur su per la coscia,
E disse: 'Or va su tu, che se' valente.'
Conobbi allor chi era; e quell' angoscia 115

90. For the untranslatable *e* before *men*, see *Inf.* XIX, 3.
92. *Fia* = *sarà*.
93. *A seconda*, 'with the stream.'
95. *Quivi*: at the end of the road. — *Affanno*, 'panting.
99. *Distretta*, 'need.'
111. *Sirocchia*, 'sister.'
115. *Angoscia*, 'fatigue.'

Che m' avacciava un poco ancor la lena,
Non m' impedì l' andare a lui; e poscia
Che a lui fui giunto, alzò la testa appena,
Dicendo: 'Hai ben veduto come il sole
Dall' omero sinistro il carro mena?' 120
Gli atti suoi pigri e le corte parole
Mosson le labbra mie un poco a riso;
Poi cominciai: 'Belacqua, a me non duole
Di te omai. Ma dimmi, perchè assiso
Quiritta sei? Attendi tu iscorta, 125
O pur lo modo usato t' hai ripriso?'
Ed ei: 'Frate, l' andare in su che porta?
Chè non mi lascerebbe ire ai martiri
L' uccel di Dio che siede in su la porta.
Prima convien che tanto il ciel m' aggiri 130
Di fuor da essa quanto fece in vita, —
Perch' io indugiai al fine i buon sospiri, —
Se orazione in prima non m' aïta
Che surga su di cor che in grazia viva.
L' altra che val, che in ciel non è udita?' 135
E già il Poeta innanzi mi saliva,
E dicea: 'Vienne omai, vedi ch' è tocco
Meridïan dal sole, e dalla riva
Copre la notte già col piè Morrocco.'

116. *Avacciava*, 'quickened': cf. *Inf.* X, 116.
123. Dante sees that Belacqua is, after all, among the elect.
125. *Quiritta*, 'here.'
126. *Ripriso* = *ripreso*: cf. *sorpriso* in I, 97.
127. *Che porta*, 'what avails it?'
129 The guardian angel at the gate of Purgatory.
137. *Vienne*, 'come on.' — *Tocco* = *toccato*. It is noon in Purgatory, midnight in Jerusalem; the whole Hemisphere of Water is light, the Hemisphere of Land is dark. The sun has reached the meridian of Purgatory; night, striding across the other hemisphere from the bank (of the Ganges), has already set foot on Morocco (the Strait of Gibraltar) — that is, it extends from the eastern to the western extremity of the habitable world.

CANTO V

ARGUMENT

The third class of the 'negligent' comprises those who, cut short by a violent death, repented at their last gasp. They come wandering horizontally across the mountain-side. Their principal spokesman is Count Buonconte da Montefeltro, a Ghibelline leader, captain of the Aretines in the disastrous battle of Campaldino in 1289. There he met his death, but, as we are told by Dante (who almost certainly took part in this fight), his body was not found on the field. This curious circumstance allows the poet to introduce a romantic account of Buonconte's end — his appeal to Mary with his dying breath, his salvation 'by one little tear' of genuine contrition, and the contest between angel and demon for the possession of his soul. Such a conflict we find portrayed in ancient Etruscan art, and, in Christian times, described as early as Gregory I and Bede. In the *Commedia* it occurs — with a different outcome — in only one other instance, that of Buonconte's father, Guido (*Inf.* XXVII, 112–29), whose fate is thus contrasted with his son's. By means of these two extreme examples Dante illustrates the dependence of everlasting welfare or perdition upon the real fitness of the soul at the instant of departure.

The foiled devil wreaks his vengeance on the corpse. He conjures up a storm, and Buonconte's body is swept into the Arno. In Ephesians ii, 2, the fiend is called 'prince of the power of the air.' According to St. Thomas, the elements are subject to spiritual beings; and demons, who dwell partly in Hell and partly in the dark air, are able to produce wind and rain.

For Guido da Montefeltro, see Argument to *Inf.* XXVII. For the contest between angel and devil: Gregory I, *Dialogi*, IV, xxxvi (Migne, LVII, 381); Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, xix (Migne, XCV, 146 ff.). For the nature and power of demons: St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxiv, Art. 4; Prima, Qu. cxii, Art. 2; Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxx, Art. 2.

Io era già da quell' ombre partito
  E seguitava l' orme del mio Duca,
  Quando diretro a me, drizzando il dito,

Una gridò: 'Ve' che non par che luca
Lo raggio da sinistra a quel di sotto, 5
E come vivo par che si conduca.'
Gli occhi rivolsi al suon di questo motto,
E vidile guardar per maraviglia
Pur me, pur me, e il lume ch' era rotto.
'Perchè l' animo tuo tanto s' impiglia,' 10
Disse il Maestro, 'che l' andare allenti?
Che ti fa ciò che quivi si pispiglia?
Vien retro a me, e lascia dir le genti;
Sta come torre ferma, che non crolla
Giammai la cima per soffiar de' venti. 15
Chè sempre l' uomo in cui pensier rampolla
Sopra pensier, da sè dilunga il segno,
Perchè la foga l' un dell' altro insolla.'
Che poteva io ridir, se non: 'Io vegno'?
Dissilo, alquanto del color consperso 20
Che fa l' uom di perdon talvolta degno.
E intanto per la costa, di traverso,
Venivan genti innanzi a noi un poco,
Cantando *Miserere* a verso a verso.
Quando s' accorser ch' io non dava loco 25

4. *Ve'* = *vedi*.
5. As Dante is climbing straight up the east side of the mountain, facing west, — the sun being now in the north, — his shadow falls on the left (or south) side.
16. *Rampolla*, 'sprouts.' Cf. *Inf*. XXIII, 10; *Par*. IV, 130.
17. The man in whose mind one thought immediately begets a different one 'puts the target further from him,' i. e., makes his goal more difficult of attainment. Dante is particularly fond of metaphors taken from archery.
18. 'Because the one weakens the force of the other.'
21. Shame is becoming in women and youths, not in mature men: cf. *Conv.*, IV, xix, 82–92.
22. *Di traverso*, 'crosswise.'
24. Ps. li (Vulg. l): 'Have mercy upon me, O God.' — *A verso a verso* probably indicates a division of the singers into two choirs, which sing the verses alternately.

Per lo mio corpo al trapassar de' raggi,
Mutar lor canto in un 'oh!' lungo e roco;
E due di loro, in forma di messaggi,
Corsero incontro a noi, e domandarne:
'Di vostra condizion fatene saggi.' 30
E il mio Maestro: 'Voi potete andarne
E ritrarre a color che vi mandaro
Che il corpo di costui è vera carne.
Se per veder la sua ombra restaro,
Com' io avviso, assai è lor risposto. 35
Facciangli onore, ed esser può lor caro.'
Vapori accesi non vid' io sì tosto
Di prima notte mai fender sereno,
Nè, sol calando, nuvole d' agosto,
Che color non tornasser suso in meno, 40
E, giunti, là con gli altri a noi dier volta,
Come schiera che scorre senza freno.
'Questa gente che preme a noi è molta,
E vengonti a pregar,' disse il Poeta;
'Però pur va, ed in andando ascolta.' 45
'O anima, che vai per esser lieta
Con quelle membra con le quai nascesti,'
Venian gridando, 'un poco il passo queta.
Guarda se alcun di noi unque vedesti,
Sì che di lui di là novelle porti! 50

28. *Messaggi* = *messaggeri*: cf. XXII, 78.
29. *Domandarne* = *ci domandarono*.
36. 'It may profit them,' because they are in need of the prayers of the living, which Dante may procure for them.
37. *Vapori accesi* comprise both meteors and lightning. Meteors, cleaving the clear sky in the early night, and lightning, cleaving the August clouds at sunset, move less swiftly than the messengers.
40. '(So swiftly) that they (the messengers) did not go up again in less (time).'
41. *Dier* (= *diedero*) *volta*, 'turned.'

Deh perchè vai? deh perchè non t' arresti?
Noi fummo già tutti per forza morti,
E peccatori infino all' ultim' ora;
Quivi lume del ciel ne fece accorti
Sì che, pentendo e perdonando, fuora 55
Di vita uscimmo a Dio pacificati,
Che del disio di sè veder n' accora.'
Ed io: 'Perchè ne' vostri visi guati,
Non riconosco alcun; ma se a voi piace
Cosa ch' io possa, spiriti ben nati, 60
Voi dite; ed io farò per quella pace,
Che, retro ai piedi di sì fatta guida,
Di mondo in mondo cercar mi si face.'
Ed uno incominciò: 'Ciascun si fida
Del beneficio tuo senza giurarlo, 65
Pur che il voler nonpossa non ricida.
Ond' io, che solo innanzi agli altri parlo,
Ti prego, se mai vedi quel paese
Che siede tra Romagna e quel di Carlo,
Che tu mi sie de' tuoi preghi cortese 70
In Fano sì che ben per me s' adori,
Perch' io possa purgar le gravi offese.
Quindi fu' io; ma li profondi fori,
Onde uscì il sangue in sul qual io sedea,

57. *N' accora,* 'saddens us.'
58. *Perchè . . . guati,* 'though I gaze.'
62. *Sì fatta,* 'such.'
63. *Face* = *fa.*
66. 'Provided inability cut not short thy (good) will.'
69. The March of Ancona is the country between the Romagna and the land of Charles — i. e., the kingdom of Naples, which belonged to Charles II of Anjou. The speaker is Jacopo del Cassero, a leading citizen of Fano, who in 1296 was mayor of Bologna. He fell out with Azzo VIII of Este, and in 1298, while on his way to take the place of mayor of Milan, he was murdered by the marquis's hirelings.
73. *Fori,* 'wounds.'
74. *In sul qual io sedea,* 'in which I (the soul) dwelt.' Cf. Levit. xvii, 14:

Fatti mi furo in grembo agli Antenori, 75
Là dov' io più sicuro esser credea:
Quel da Esti il fe' far, che m' avea in ira
Assai più là che dritto non volea.
Ma s' io fossi fuggito inver la Mira,
Quando fui sopraggiunto ad Orïago, 80
Ancor sarei di là dove si spira.
Corsi al palude, e le cannucce e il brago
M' impigliar sì ch' io caddi, e lì vid' io
Delle mie vene farsi in terra lago.'
Poi disse un altro: 'Deh, se quel disio 85
Si compia che ti tragge all' alto monte,
Con buona pïetate aiuta il mio.
Io fui di Montefeltro, io son Buonconte.
Giovanna o altri non ha di me cura;
Per ch' io vo tra costor con bassa fronte.' 90
Ed io a lui: 'Qual forza o qual ventura
Ti travïò sì fuor di Campaldino
Che non si seppe mai tua sepoltura?'
'Oh,' rispos' egli, 'a piè del Casentino
Traversa un' acqua che ha nome l' Archiano, 95

'anima enim omnis carnis in sanguine est'; the English version is not so close — 'for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof.'

75. The territory of the Paduans. According to an ancient tradition, Padua was founded by Antenor (cf. *Æn.*, I, 247-9), who, as we have seen, was regarded as an arch-traitor: see the second paragraph of the Argument to *Inf.* XXXII.

78. *Più là che*, 'beyond what.'

79. La Mira is a village between Padua and Oriago. The speaker cannot forgive himself for having, in his terror, turned in the wrong direction, when he was 'overtaken' by the assassins: had he fled toward the village, instead of running into the swamp, he might still be in the land of the living, in which case he would have repented in due season and so spared himself, after death, this long waiting outside of Purgatory.

85. The *se*, with the subjunctive, *compia*, is hortative: cf. II, 16; also *Inf.* X, 82.

89. Giovanna was his wife.

94. The Casentino is a mountainous district in Tuscany, on the upper Arno.

95. The Archiano is a mountain torrent that runs into the Arno near Bibbiena.

Che sopra l' Ermo nasce in Apennino.
Dove il vocabol suo diventa vano
Arriva' io forato nella gola,
Fuggendo a piede e sanguinando il piano.
Quivi perdei la vista, e la parola 100
Nel nome di Maria finii; e quivi
Caddi, e rimase la mia carne sola.
Io dirò il vero, e tu il ridi' tra i vivi!
L'Angel di Dio mi prese, e quel d' inferno
Gridava: "O tu del ciel, perchè mi privi? 105
Tu te ne porti di costui l' eterno
Per una lagrimetta che il mi toglie;
Ma io farò dell' altro altro governo."
Ben sai come nell' aere si raccoglie
Quell' umido vapor che in acqua riede, 110
Tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie.
Giunse quel mal voler, che pur mal chiede,
Con l' intelletto, e mosse il fummo e il vento
Per la virtù che sua natura diede.
Indi la valle, come il dì fu spento, 115
Da Pratomagno al gran giogo coperse
Di nebbia, e il ciel di sopra fece intento
Sì che il pregno aere in acqua si converse.
La pioggia cadde, ed ai fossati venne
Di lei ciò che la terra non sofferse. 120

96. The 'Hermitage' is the monastery of Camaldoli, founded, in the mountains, by St. Romualdo.
97. The 'name' of the Archiano 'becomes useless' when it joins the Arno.
103. *Ridi'* = *ridici*.
108. *Governo*, 'disposal.'
112. The demon 'combined that ill will, which seeks only harm, with intelligence.'
113. *Fummo*=*fumo*.
116. Pratomagno, a ridge on the southwest of the Casentino, the 'great chain' being the main range on the northeast.
117. *Intento*, 'tense,' ready to burst.

E come a' rivi grandi si convenne,
Ver lo fiume real tanto veloce
Si ruïnò, che nulla la ritenne.
Lo corpo mio gelato in su la foce
Trovò l' Archian rubesto, e quel sospinse 125
Nell' Arno, e sciolse al mio petto la croce
Ch' io fei di me quando il dolor mi vinse.
Voltommi per le ripe e per lo fondo,
Poi di sua preda mi coperse e cinse.'
'Deh, quando tu sarai tornato al mondo, 130
E riposato della lunga via,'
Seguitò il terzo spirito al secondo,
'Ricorditi di me, che son la Pia!
Siena mi fe', disfecemi Maremma.
Salsi colui che innanellata pria, 135
Disposando, m' avea con la sua gemma.'

122. The 'royal stream' is the Arno.
125. *Rubesto*, 'raging': cf. *Inf.* XXXI, 106.
127. *Fei* = *feci*.
132. The unexpected intervention of this 'third spirit' is as startling as her reticence is pathetic.
133. Pia de' Tolomei of Siena, it was said, was wedded to Nello della Pietra de' Pannocchieschi, who, wishing to marry another woman, murdered her, or had her murdered, in his castle in the Tuscan Maremma. *Bull.*, XVII, 125.
135, 136. *Salsi* = *se lo sa*. 'That he knows who, earlier, had ringed me (encircled my finger) with his gem in wedlock (*disposando*).'

CANTO VI

ARGUMENT

The leading personage of this canto is that 'Lombard soul' who so fired the imagination of two great poets. Browning saw in Sordello the representative of a changing age, an infinitely varied and interesting civilization; in Dante's eyes he was the critic of corrupt and incompetent government. The real Sordello was one of those roving Italians who, in the 13th century, helped to maintain the waning glory of Provençal verse, and profited by its immense vogue in foreign countries. Born in the Mantuan town of Goito, he lived the restless and sometimes scandalous life of a handsome adventurer and clever poet at various courts in Lombardy and Piedmont, then in France and Spain, and found at last a mighty protector in the Count of Provence. Passing into the service of the count's son-in-law, Charles of Anjou, he probably saw the Sicilian campaign and the battle of Benevento. By this time he was certainly a man of considerable importance. Charles, after a reproof from Pope Clement IV for his neglect of the poet, bestowed upon him some castles in the Abruzzi. Sordello had evidently risen to knighthood, and we may assume that the notoriety of his youthful career was overshadowed by the fame of his later years. Dante, in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, xv, 9–14, describes him as a man of great eloquence who had renounced his native dialect not only in poetry but in speech. His lyric work, as we possess it, does not rise above mediocrity; but his *Ensenhamen d'Onor*, a long didactic poem, though not brilliant in style, contains much that surely appealed to Dante — a high standard of chivalrous conduct and a vigorous invective against the mean-spirited rich. Dante's conception of him, however, was obviously based, in the main, upon a single short piece of verse, a lament over the death of Blacatz, a Provençal patron of letters: Sordello compares the virtues of the departed with the vices and weaknesses of those that are left, and turns his elegy into scathing satire, fearless and merciless condemnation of the potentates of his time, from the Emperor down. Dante regards him, then, as the type of the unflinching patriot and reformer, the scourge of

kings. He invests his figure with more than regal dignity. Though a member of the fourth class of the 'negligent' (those whose minds were over engrossed by public cares), Sordello sits 'all alone,' apart from the monarchs whom he judged. The instant kindling of the flame of love by the mere mention of his native Mantua, — contrasted as it is with the majestic indifference of his first attitude, and rendered the more effective by the amazing swiftness of the action, — leads up naturally to the apostrophe to Italy which concludes the canto, a denunciation that vents all the pent-up bitterness of the exile's heart. Its savage irony recalls the poem and the letter addressed by Guittone d'Arezzo to the Florentines on the morrow of their great defeat at Montaperti. For many centuries it bore a stern message to Italians.

See V. Crescini, *A proposito di Sordello* in *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, LXV, ii; E. G. Parodi in *Bull.*, IV, 185; Novati, 143. For Sordello's life and works, see C. De Lollis, *Vita e poesie di Sordello di Goito*, 1896.

Quando si parte il giuoco della zara,
 Colui che perde si riman dolente,
 Ripetendo le volte, e tristo impara;
Con l' altro se ne va tutta la gente:
 Qual va dinanzi, e qual di retro il prende, 5
 E qual da lato gli si reca a mente.
Ei non s' arresta, e questo e quello intende;
 A cui porge la man più non fa pressa;
 E così dalla calca si difende.
Tal era io in quella turba spessa, 10
 Volgendo a loro e qua e là la faccia,
 E promettendo mi sciogliea da essa.
Quivi era l' Aretin che dalle braccia
 Fiere di Ghin di Tacco ebbe la morte,

1. 'Hazard,' a game played with three dice, was very much in vogue, in spite of prohibitions.
3. *Volte*, 'throws.'
13. The 'Aretine' is Benincasa of Laterina in the county of Arezzo, a jurist, who visited Florence 1282; he was murdered in Rome, while sitting in court, by the famous robber, Ghino di Tacco (Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, X, 2), whose brother he had condemned to death.

E l' altro che annegò correndo in caccia. 15
Quivi pregava con le mani sporte
Federigo Novello, e quel da Pisa
Che fe' parer lo buon Marzucco forte.
Vidi Cont' Orso, e l' anima divisa
Dal corpo suo per astio e per inveggia, 20
Come dicea, non per colpa commisa:
Pier dalla Broccia dico; e qui provveggia,
Mentr' è di qua, la donna di Brabante,
Sì che però non sia di peggior greggia.
Come libero fui da tutte quante 25
Quell' ombre, che pregar pur ch' altri preghi,
Sì che s' avacci il lor divenir sante,
Io cominciai: 'E' par che tu mi neghi,
O luce mia, espresso in alcun testo,
Che decreto del cielo orazion pieghi; 30
E questa gente prega pur di questo.

15. 'The other' Aretine is said to be Guccio Tarlati of Pietramala, who was drowned in the Arno while 'hunting' the enemy.

17. 'Frederick, junior,' the son of Count Guido Novello and a daughter of Frederick II, was killed in war in the Casentino in 1291. — *Quel da Pisa* is apparently Giovanni or Gano, called Farinata, the son of the Marzucco of l. 18.

18. Marzucco was a Pisan, prominent in public affairs, who in 1287 left the world and became a Franciscan monk. According to the most plausible of the conflicting early explanations, his fortitude was shown by pardoning the murderer of his son. Cf. *Bull.*, XVII, 123.

19. Count Orso of Mangona was murdered, it is said, by his cousin Albert. The fathers of Orso and Albert killed each other: cf. *Inf.* XXXII, 55–8.

22. Pierre de la Brosse of Turenne, — 'the soul parted from its body by hate and envy,' — was chamberlain of Louis IX and Philip III of France. Through the wiles of Philip's second wife, Mary of Brabant, whom Pierre had accused of the murder of the heir to the throne, he was hanged in 1278. — *Provveggia* = *provveda*, 'let her look to it,' while she is alive, that she be not consigned, after death, to the 'worse flock' of the damned. Mary lived until 1321.

26. *Che pregar pur ch' altri preghi*, 'who prayed only that one pray' for them.

27. *Avacci:* cf. IV, 116.

29. When the shade of the unburied Palinurus begs Æneas to take him over the Styx, the Sibyl replies (*Æn.*, VI, 373–6):

> 'Unde hæc, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
> Tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
> Eumenidum aspicies? ripamve injussus adibis?
> Desine fata Deum flecti sperare precando.'

Sarebbe dunque loro speme vana?
O non m' è il detto tuo ben manifesto?'
Ed egli a me: 'La mia scrittura è piana,
E la speranza di costor non falla, 35
Se ben si guarda con la mente sana.
Chè cima di giudizio non s' avvalla
Perchè foco d' amor compia in un punto
Ciò che dee satisfar chi qui s' astalla;
E là dov' io fermai cotesto punto 40
Non si ammendava per pregar difetto,
Perchè il prego da Dio era disgiunto.
Veramente a così alto sospetto
Non ti fermar, se quella nol ti dice,
Che lume fia tra il vero e l' intelletto. 45
Non so se intendi: io dico di Beatrice.
Tu la vedrai di sopra, in sulla vetta
Di questo monte, ridere e felice.'
Ed io: 'Signore, andiamo a maggior fretta;
Chè già non m' affatico come dianzi, 50
E vedi omai che il poggio l' ombra getta.'
'Noi anderem con questo giorno innanzi,'
Rispose, 'quanto più potremo omai;
Ma il fatto è d' altra forma che non stanzi.

33. Dante questions his own understanding, not Virgil's statement.
37. 'The summit of justice (*apex juris*) is not overturned.'
38. *Perchè*, 'though.' — *In un punto*, 'in a single moment.'
39. *Dee* =*deve*. — *S' astalla*, 'is stationed.' — Satisfaction, an atonement for the injury done, can be made by other loving hearts as well as by the guilty one. See the last paragraph of the Argument to Canto III.
42. Palinurus was a pagan, not 'living in grace' (IV, 134), and his prayer was not addressed to God nor received by him.
43. *Veramente*, 'nevertheless': cf. II, 98. — *Alto sospetto*, 'deep doubt.' A question involving the doctrine of grace transcends the power of reason, and is not to be 'settled' without revelation.
46. This mention of the name — the first since the beginning of the journey — makes Dante more eager to climb.
54. *Stanzi*, 'decidest': cf. *Inf*. XXV, 10.

Prima che sii lassù, tornar vedrai 55
  Colui che già si copre della costa
  Sì che i suoi raggi tu romper non fai.
Ma vedi là un' anima, che posta
  Sola soletta verso noi riguarda;
  Quella ne insegnerà la via più tosta.' 60
Venimmo a lei. O anima lombarda,
  Come ti stavi altera e disdegnosa
  E nel mover degli occhi onesta e tarda!
Ella non ci diceva alcuna cosa;
  Ma lasciavane gir, solo sguardando 65
  A guisa di leon quando si posa.
Pur Virgilio si trasse a lei, pregando
  Che ne mostrasse la miglior salita;
  E quella non rispose al suo domando,
Ma di nostro paese e della vita 70
  C' inchiese. E il dolce Duca incominciava:
  'Mantova.' . . . E l' ombra, tutta in sè romita,
Surse ver lui del loco ove pria stava,
  Dicendo: 'O Mantovano, io son Sordello
  Della tua terra.' E l' un l' altro abbracciava. 75
Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello,
  Nave senza nocchiere in gran tempesta,
  Non donna di provincie, ma bordello!

57. In the middle of the afternoon the whole eastern side of the mountain is in the shade, and Dante no longer casts a shadow.

66. Cf. Gen. xlix, 9: 'he couched as a lion.'

72. *Romita*, 'withdrawn.'

75. See the second paragraph of the Argument to Canto II.

76. *Ostello:* cf. *V. N.*, Sonnet II, 23.

77. *Nocchiere:* cf. *Conv.*, IV, iv, 50–72.

78. Several old writers call Italy 'domina provinciarum'; cf. Lamentations of Jeremiah i, 1, 'princess among the provinces (*princeps provinciarum*).' Guittone d'Arezzo, in an epistle to Florence, after the battle of Montaperti, says: 'che devenuta se' non già reina, ma ancilla conculcata e sottoposta a tributo.'

Quell' anima gentil fu così presta,
  Sol per lo dolce suon della sua terra, 80
  Di fare al cittadin suo quivi festa;
Ed ora in te non stanno senza guerra
  Li vivi tuoi, e l' un l' altro si rode
  Di quei che un muro ed una fossa serra.
Cerca, misera, intorno dalle prode, 85
  Le tue marine, e poi ti guarda in seno
  Se alcuna parte in te di pace gode.
Che val perchè ti racconciasse il freno
  Giustinïano, se la sella è vota?
  Senz' esso fora la vergogna meno. 90
Ahi gente, che dovresti esser devota,
  E lasciar seder Cesare in la sella, —
  Se bene intendi ciò che Dio ti nota, —
Guarda com' esta fiera è fatta fella
  Per non esser corretta dagli sproni, 95
  Poi che ponesti mano alla predella!
O Alberto Tedesco, che abbandoni
  Costei ch' è fatta indomita e selvaggia,
  E dovresti inforcar li suoi arcioni,
Giusto giudizio dalle stelle caggia 100

88. In ll. 88–102 Italy is pictured as a horse. Justinian (*Par.* VI) 'patched its bridle' by codifying the laws, but there is no Emperor to fill the saddle.
91. *Gente:* the clergy.
93. Mat. xxii, 21: 'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's.'
96. *Predella,* 'rein': ever since the clergy usurped temporal authority.
97. Albert of Hapsburg was elected King of the Romans in 1298, but never went to Italy to be crowned.
100. In 1307 Albert's oldest son died after a short sickness; the next year Albert himself was murdered by his nephew, John the Parricide. If Dante was apostrophizing Albert as still alive at the time of writing, this canto must have been composed between these two events. If, on the other hand, the poet was putting himself back into the year 1300, the 'judgment' would naturally be the assassination of Albert, and the 'successor' would be the next Emperor, Henry VII, who descended into Italy.

Sopra il tuo sangue, e sia nuovo ed aperto,
Tal che il tuo successor temenza n' aggia!
Chè avete (tu e il tuo padre) sofferto —
Per cupidigia di costà distretti —
Che il giardin dell' imperio sia diserto. 105
Vieni a veder Montecchi e Cappelletti,
Monaldi e Filippeschi, uom senza cura:
Color già tristi, e questi con sospetti.
Vien, crudel, vieni, e vedi la pressura
De' tuoi gentili, e cura lor magagne; 110
E vedrai Santafior com' è sicura.
Vieni a veder la tua Roma che piagne,
Vedova e sola, e dì e notte chiama:
'Cesare mio, perchè non m' accompagne?'
Vieni a veder la gente quanto s' ama! 115
E se nulla di noi pietà ti move,
A vergognarti vien della tua fama!
E se licito m' è, o sommo Giove,
Che fosti in terra per noi crocifisso,
Son li giusti occhi tuoi rivolti altrove? 120
O è preparazion, che nell' abisso
Del tuo consiglio fai, per alcun bene
In tutto dall' accorger nostro scisso?

103. *Il padre:* Rudolph, who was as remiss as his son.
104. 'Held by greed of things up yonder': the desire to increase their German states.
106, 107. Dante cites a few of the great houses that were ravaged by strife: the Montecchi of Verona, Ghibellines; the Cappelletti of Cremona, of the Church party; the Monaldi and Filippeschi, rival families (Guelf and Ghibelline) of Orvieto. There is no evidence that the 'Capulets' were ever neighbors of the 'Montagues' in Verona: cf. *Bull.*, XII, 240.
108. *Con sospetti*, 'apprehensive.'
110. *Pressura:* cf. Luke xxi, 25, 'pressura gentium,' 'distress of nations.'
111. The Counts of Santafiora, a great Ghibelline family, lost, at the close of the 13th century, a great part of their territory to Siena. Santa Fiora is in the Maremma.
114. *Accompagne* = *accompagni*.
123. *Scisso*, 'severed': inaccessible to our understanding.

Chè le città d' Italia tutte piene
  Son di tiranni, ed un Marcel diventa 125
  Ogni villan che parteggiando viene.
Fiorenza mia, ben puoi esser contenta
  Di questa digression, che non ti tocca
  Mercè del popol tuo che si argomenta.
Molti han giustizia in cor, ma tardi scocca, 130
  Per non venir senza consiglio all' arco;
  Ma il popol tuo l' ha in sommo della bocca.
Molti rifiutan lo comune incarco;
  Ma il popol tuo sollecito risponde
  Senza chiamare, e grida: 'Io mi sobbarco.' 135
Or ti fa lieta, chè tu hai ben onde:
  Tu ricca, tu con pace, tu con senno!
  S' io dico 'l ver, l' effetto nol nasconde.
Atene e Lacedemona, che fenno
  L' antiche leggi e furon sì civili, 140
  Fecero al viver bene un picciol cenno
  Verso di te, che fai tanto sottili
  Provvedimenti che a mezzo novembre
  Non giunge quel che tu d' ottobre fili.

125. C. Claudius Marcellus ('Marcellus . . . loquax,' as Julius Cæsar calls him in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, I, 313) was a strenuous opponent of Cæsar and a partisan of Pompey.

129. *Si argomenta*, 'strives,' does its best. Ll. 127–44 are bitterly ironical.

130. *Tardi scocca*, 'it is slow in shooting'; it does not quickly find expression.

131. *Per non venir*, 'because it does not come.'

135. *Senza chiamare*, 'without being called.' — *Io mi sobbarco*, 'I bend my back' for the 'common burden' of public service.

136. *Onde*, 'wherefore': thou hast good reason.

138. *L'effetto nol* (=*non lo*) *nasconde*, 'the result shows.'

139. *Fenno* =*fecero*.

141. Athens and Lacedæmon 'offered but a slight suggestion of right living,' compared to Florence.

142. *Sottili*, 'delicate.' Dante plays upon the double sense of *sottile*, which means 'shrewd' and 'flimsy.' The fabric of laws which Florence spins in October does not last until mid November. The two months were perhaps suggested by the vicissitudes of 1301, in which year the White priors who took office on Oct. 18 were deposed by the Blacks on Nov. 8.

Quante volte, del tempo che rimembre, 145
  Legge, moneta, officio, e costume
  Hai tu mutato, e rinnovato membre!
E se ben ti ricordi e vedi lume,
  Vedrai te simigliante a quella inferma
  Che non può trovar posa in su le piume, 150
Ma con dar volta suo dolore scherma.

145. *Rimembre* = *rimembri:* cf. l. 114.
147. *Membre* = *membra*, pl.
151. 'But fights her pain by tossing.' Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessiones*, VI, xvi, 3: 'Versa et reversa in tergum et in latera et in ventrem, et dura sunt omnia.'

CANTO VII

ARGUMENT

'Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth' (John xii, 35). In ll. 107–8 of the first canto the wayfarers were told that the sun — the emblem of spiritual enlightenment, or righteous choice — was to be their guide in their upward journey; now (and again in XVII, 62–3 and XXVII, 74–5) they learn that without that guidance they cannot ascend at all. The life of the penitent is divided between the day of active advancement on the path of reformation, where every step must be wisely directed, and the night of prayerful meditation. Day is ushered in by the constellation of cardinal, or practical, virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Justice (I, 22–7); night, by the three bright stars of Christian contemplation, the theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Love (VIII, 85–93).

Each of the three nights passed by Dante on the island is spent in repose. His first resting-place is the beautiful Valley of the Princes, a hollow in the mountain-side, where are gathered great rulers whose worldly cares made them postpone until the last moment their reconciliation with God. Those who were enemies on earth sit side by side in fraternal harmony, Rudolph of Hapsburg with Ottocar of Bohemia, Charles of Anjou with Peter of Aragon. Here, as in the first life, Sordello is the judge of kings: he points out and describes to the travellers the dwellers in the dale. The conception of this charming, peaceful spot was probably suggested to Dante — as was that of the Noble Castle of *Inf.* IV, 106 — by Virgil's picture of the Elysian Fields in *Æn.*, VI, 637 ff. As Sordello shows the dell to Virgil and Dante from a bank, so Anchises leads the Sibyl and Æneas to a height (754–5):

> 'Et tumulum capit, unde omnes longo ordine possit
> Adversos legere, et venientum discere vultus.'

In both poems the spirits are seen reclining on the greensward, singing together (656–7):

> 'Conspicit ecce alios dextra lævaque per herbam
> Vescentes, lætumque choro pæana canentes.'

Like Sordello, Anchises surveys and recognizes souls destined to rise (679–81):

> 'At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
> Inclusas animas, superumque ad lumen ituras,
> Lustrabat studio recolens.'

Poscia che l' accoglienze oneste e liete
Furo iterate tre e quattro volte,
Sordel si trasse e disse: 'Voi chi siete?'
'Prima che a questo monte fosser volte
L' anime degne di salire a Dio, 5
Fur l' ossa mie per Ottavian sepolte.
Io son Virgilio; e per null' altro rio
Lo ciel perdei, che per non aver fè.'
Così rispose allora il Duca mio.
Qual è colui che cosa innanzi sè 10
Subita vede, ond' ei si maraviglia,
Che crede e no, dicendo: 'Ell' è, non è,'
Tal parve quegli; e poi chinò le ciglia,
Ed umilmente ritornò ver lui
Ed abbracciollo ove il minor s' appiglia. 15
'O gloria de' Latin,' disse, 'per cui
Mostrò ciò che potea la lingua nostra,
O pregio eterno del loco ond' io fui,
Qual merito o qual grazia mi ti mostra?
S' io son d' udir le tue parole degno, 20

3. Not until he has lovingly greeted his countryman several times does Sordello ask his name. Dante remains comparatively unnoticed until Canto VIII, l. 62.

4. Before the descent of Christ into Hell no souls went to Purgatory or Heaven: cf. *Inf.* IV, 63. Ever since the redemption the souls of the elect have reached Heaven through Purgatory. Virgil died in 19 A. D.

6. Cf. III, 27.

8, 10, 12 are *versi tronchi*: cf. *Inf.* IV, 56; *Purg.* IV, 47.

15. 'The inferior lays hold' — i. e., clasps his superior — either under the arms (D'Ovidio, 12) or at the feet (XXI, 130).

18. Mantua issued coins bearing Virgil's image, and in the 14th century erected a statue to him.

Dimmi se vien d' inferno, e di qual chiostra.'
'Per tutti i cerchi del dolente regno,'
Rispose lui, 'son io di qua venuto.
Virtù del ciel mi mosse, e con lei vegno.
Non per far, ma per non far, ho perduto 25
Di veder l' alto Sol che tu disiri,
E che fu tardi da me conosciuto.
Loco è laggiù non tristo da martiri
Ma di tenebre solo, ove i lamenti
Non suonan come guai, ma son sospiri. 30
Quivi sto io coi parvoli innocenti,
Dai denti morsi della morte avante
Che fosser dall' umana colpa esenti.
Quivi sto io con quei che le tre sante
Virtù non si vestiro, e senza vizio 35
Conobber l' altre e seguir tutte quante.
Ma se tu sai e puoi, alcuno indizio
Dà noi, perchè venir possiam più tosto
Là dove Purgatorio ha dritto inizio.'
Rispose: 'Loco certo non c' è posto; 40
Licito m' è andar suso ed intorno.
Per quanto ir posso, a guida mi t' accosto.
Ma vedi già come dichina il giorno,
Ed andar su di notte non si puote;
Però è buon pensar di bel soggiorno. 45
Animo sono a destra qua rimote;

21. *Chiostra:* cf. *Inf.* XXIX, 40.
30. Cf. *Inf.* IV, 26.
33. Before baptism: cf. *Inf.* IV, 35-6; *Par.* XXXII, 40-5, 82-4.
36. Though the virtuous souls in Limbus were ignorant of the three theological virtues, 'they knew the others' — the four cardinal virtues — 'and followed them all.' See the third paragraph of the Argument to Canto I.
39. *Dritto inizio,* 'real beginning.'
40. *Certo,* 'fixed.' — *Posto,* 'assigned.'
44. *Puote* = *può.*

Se 'l mi consenti, io ti merrò ad esse,
E non senza diletto ti fien note.'
'Com' è ciò?' fu risposto: 'chi volesse
Salir di notte, fora egli impedito 50
D' altrui? o non sarria chè non potesse?'
E il buon Sordello in terra fregò il dito,
Dicendo: 'Vedi, sola questa riga
Non varcheresti dopo il sol partito.
Non però che altra cosa desse briga, 55
Che la notturna tenebra, ad ir suso:
Quella col non poter la voglia intriga.
Ben si poria con lei tornare in giuso,
E passeggiar la costa intorno errando,
Mentre che l' orizzonte il dì tien chiuso.' 60
Allora il mio Signor, quasi ammirando:
'Menane dunque,' disse, 'là ove dici
Che aver si può diletto dimorando.'
Poco allungati c' eravam di lici
Quand' io m' accorsi che il monte era scemo, 65
A guisa che i vallon li sceman quici.
'Colà,' disse quell' ombra, 'n' anderemo
Dove la costa face di sè grembo,
E quivi il nuovo giorno attenderemo.'
Tra erto e piano era un sentiero sghembo, 70

47. *Merrò* =*menerò*: cf. *V. N.*, Canzone I, 87.
48. *Fien* =*saranno*.
50. *Fora* =*sarebbe*.
51. *Sarria* =*salirebbe*. 'Would he not climb because he had not the power?'
55. *Briga*, 'hindrance': to going up (l. 56).
56. *Che*, 'than,' dependent on *altra* in l. 55.
57. *Intriga*, 'impedes.'
58. *Poria* =*potrebbe*. — *Lei*: *tenebra* (l. 56).
64. *Lici* =*lì*.
66. 'Just as valleys hollow them (i. e., mountains) here (with us).'
68. *Face* =*fa*.
70. 'There was a slanting path, neither steep nor level.'

Che ne condusse in fianco della lacca,
Là dove più che a mezzo muore il lembo.
Oro ed argento fino, cocco e biacca,
Indico legno lucido e sereno,
Fresco smeraldo in l' ora che si fiacca, 75
Dall' erba e dalli fior dentro a quel seno
Posti, ciascun saria di color vinto,
Come dal suo maggiore è vinto il meno.
Non avea pur natura ivi dipinto,
Ma di soavità di mille odori 80
Vi facea un incognito e indistinto.
Salve Regina in sul verde e in su i fiori
Quivi seder cantando anime vidi,
Che per la valle non parean di fuori:
'Prima che il poco sole omai s' annidi,' 85
Cominciò il Mantovan che ci avea volti,
'Tra costor non vogliate ch' io vi guidi.
Da questo balzo meglio gli atti e i volti
Conoscerete voi di tutti quanti

71. *In fianco della lacca*, 'to the edge of the dingle': cf. *Inf*. VII, 16.

72. 'At a point where the bank was more than half gone.' The sloping valley opens out as it descends, and its banks diminish until they blend into the mountain-side.

73. *Cocco e biacca*, 'cochineal and white lead,' from which red and white colors were extracted.

74. *Indico legno* is probably amber, which, according to Pliny, is a tree-gum that sometimes comes from India: cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVIII, 356. Most commentators take it to mean 'indigo,' but the epithets *lucido e sereno* fit amber much better.

75. *Fiacca*, 'splits.'

76, 77. 'Each (of the things just enumerated) would be surpassed in color by the grass and flowers set within that dale.'

78. *Il meno*, 'the less,' i. e., the inferior thing.

79. *Non . . . pur . . . dipinto*, 'not merely painted.'

81. *Un:* sc. *odore*.

82. *Salve Regina* is an antiphon recited after sunset in the service of certain seasons. It is an appeal to Mary from the 'exiled sons of Eve' 'in this valley of tears.'

84. *Per la valle non parean*, 'on account of the depression, were not visible.'

88. *Balzo:* cf. IV, 47.

89. *Tutti quanti*, 'all of them.'

Che nella lama giù tra essi accolti. 90
Colui che più sied' alto, e fa sembianti
D' aver negletto ciò che far dovea,
E che non move bocca agli altrui canti,
Ridolfo imperador fu, che potea
Sanar le piaghe ch' hanno Italia morta 95
Sì che tardi per altri si ricrea.
L' altro, che nella vista lui conforta,
Resse la terra dove l' acqua nasce
Che Molta in Albia, ed Albia in mar ne porta:
Ottacchero ebbe nome, e nelle fasce 100
Fu meglio assai che Vincislao suo figlio
Barbuto, cui lussuria ed ozio pasce.
E quel Nasetto, che stretto a consiglio
Par con colui ch' ha sì benigno aspetto,
Morì fuggendo e disfiorando il giglio: 105
Guardate là, come si batte il petto.
L' altro vedete ch' ha fatto alla guancia

90. *Lama*, 'level,' bottom: cf. *Inf.* XX, 79.
94. Rudolph of Hapsburg, crowned Emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1273, was the first of the Austrian Emperors. Cf. VI, 103. — *Potea sanar*, 'might have cured.'
96. *Tardi . . . si ricrea*, 'she will not soon be revived.' For this use of the present, cf. XIV, 66.
97. *L' altro*, 'the next.' — *Nella vista*, 'as his expression shows.'
98. Bohemia.
99. *Molta*, 'Moldau.' — *Albia*, 'Elbe.'
100. Ottocar II, King of Bohemia and Duke of Austria, was killed, in 1278, in war with Rudolph, whom he would not recognize as King of Rome. — *Fasce*, 'swaddling clothes': he was worth more in his infancy than his son Wenceslaus in mature age.
101. Wenceslaus IV, son and heir of Ottocar, son-in-law of Rudolph. He lived until 1305. Cf. *Par.* XIX, 125.
102. *Pasce:* i. e., *pascono*.
103. 'Small-Nose' is Philip III, the Bold, of France, son and successor of Louis IX, and nephew of Charles of Anjou. To help his uncle against Peter of Aragon (l. 112), whom the Sicilian revolutionists had elected king, he invaded Catalonia by land and sea; but his fleet was defeated, and his army, contracting the plague, was obliged to flee. The king himself died at Perpignan in 1285.
104. Henry the Fat of Navarre, brother and successor of the Thibault of *Inf.* XXII, 52, died in 1274.
107. *L' altro:* Henry.

Della sua palma, sospirando, letto.
Padre e suocero son del mal di Francia;
Sanno la vita sua viziata e lorda, 110
E quindi viene il duol che sì li lancia.
Quel che par sì membruto, e che s' accorda
Cantando con colui del maschio naso,
D' ogni valor portò cinta la corda.
E se re dopo lui fosse rimaso 115
Lo giovinetto che retro a lui siede,
Bene andava il valor di vaso in vaso —
Che non si puote dir dell' altre rede:
Jacomo e Federico hanno i reami;
Del retaggio miglior nessun possiede. 120
Rade volte risurge per li rami
L' umana probitate; e questo vuole
Quei che la dà, perchè da lui si chiami.
Anche al Nasuto vanno mie parole
(Non men ch' all' altro, Pier, che con lui canta), 125

109. Philip the Bold was father, Henry the Fat was father-in-law, of the 'Curse of France,' Philip IV, the Fair. In the many passages in which Dante assails this sovereign (who did so much harm to Italy and the Church), he avoids mentioning his name. He died in 1314: cf. *Par.* XIX, 120.

112. The 'large-limbed' sovereign is Peter III of Aragon, the husband of Manfred's daughter Constance (cf. III, 115), elected king of Sicily when the French were expelled in 1282. He died in 1285.

113. 'The one with the masculine nose' is Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France, and conqueror of Naples and Sicily.

114. Cf. Isaiah xi, 5: 'And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins.'

116. Alfonso III, Peter's oldest son, succeeded his father as king of Aragon, but died while still young in 1291. He so little deserved Dante's praise that some commentators think the *giovinetto* must have been the youngest brother, Peter.

117. 'Goodness would indeed have been emptied from vessel to vessel.' Cf. Jeremiah xlviii, 11.

119. James and Frederick, 'the other heirs,' i. e., the second and third sons of Peter, were kings of Aragon and Sicily when Dante wrote. Cf. III, 115.

120. The 'better heritage' is the father's goodness.

123. 'Crist,' who bestows it, 'wol we clayme of him our gentilesse' (Chaucer, *Wyf of Bath's Tale*, 1117). Cf. Epistle of James i, 17.

Onde Puglia e Provenza già si duole.
Tant' è del seme suo minor la pianta,
Quanto più che Beatrice e Margherita
Costanza di marito ancor si vanta.
Vedete il re della semplice vita 130
Seder là solo, Arrigo d' Inghilterra;
Questi ha ne' rami suoi migliore uscita.
Quel che più basso tra costor s' atterra,
Guardando in suso, è Guglielmo Marchese,
Per cui ed Alessandria e la sua guerra 135
Fa pianger Monferrato e Canavese.'

126. Apulia and Provence 'mourn' under the rule of Charles's degenerate son, Charles II, who died in 1309.

127, 128, 129. Charles II is as much inferior to Charles I as Charles I is to Peter III. Beatrice of Provence and Margaret of Burgundy were the successive wives of Charles I, Constance (daughter of Manfred) was the wife of Peter; and Charles I was not a devoted husband. 'The plant (the son) is inferior to the seed (the father) to the same extent that Constance boasts of her husband (Peter) more than Beatrice and Margaret boast of theirs (Charles).'

130, 131, 132. Henry III of England was reputed to have little wit; his son, Edward I, was highly esteemed.

134. William VII, or 'Longsword,' sits in a lower place on the ground because he is of lower rank than the others. He was, however, Marquis of Montferrat and Canavese, Imperial vicar, a great feudal lord and Ghibelline leader.

135, 136. In 1292 he was treacherously captured at Alessandria in Lombardy, and was kept in an iron cage until his death. His son, to avenge him, attacked Alessandria, but was defeated, unhappily for his domains. *Ed* (both) *Alessandria e la sua guerra* is the subject of *fa*.

CANTO VIII

ARGUMENT

THE penitent who, completely renouncing his past life, has once begun his expiation under the protection of grace and the guidance of the Church is exempt from temptation or fear of sin; so the souls within Dante's Purgatory have no apprehension. Those outside the gate, however, — the remorseful evildoers who are still waiting and striving, — are exposed to the wiles of the serpent and feel the 'chaste dread' (*timor castus*) of wickedness itself, different from the 'servile terror' (*timor servilis*) of the consequences of wrongdoing (cf. *Inf.* I, 44). But inasmuch as they are on their way to God, he constantly watches over them; in time of need he sends the green Angels of Hope, armed with the blunted sword of defence, to protect them from the adversary. Such is the lesson which Dante expressly bids us discover behind the 'thin veil' of allegory. Once before, in *Inf.* IX, 61–3, he warned us to look 'under the veil of the strange verses.'

It is in the evening that temptation creeps upon the repentant sinner — evening, which softens the hearts of sailors just parted from home, and 'pricks with love' the unhardened traveller as he hears the bell of compline, or *compieta*, tolling the knell of 'dying day.' That is the hour at which the Church sings the hymn (attributed to St. Ambrose), *Te lucis ante*, and recites a prayer calling for the guardianship of holy angels and protection against the snares of the enemy. This hymn is now sung by the souls in the valley. The first two of the three stanzas are as follows:

Te lucis ante terminum,
Rerum Creator, poscimus,
Ut tua pro clementia
Sis præsul et custodia.

Procul recedant somnia
Et noctium phantasmata;
Hostemque nostrum comprime,
Ne polluantur corpora.'

Among the singers, two are singled out for special notice: one, Nino Visconti, was known to Dante in the first life; the other, Conrad Malaspina, belonged to a family whose hospitality the poet once enjoyed. Nino, a grandson of the Ugolino of *Inf.* XXXIII, was judge, or governor, of Gallura, one of the four provinces into which the Pisans divided their Sardinian domain;

Fra Gomita (*Inf.* XXII, 81) was his dishonest vicar there. Moreover, he ruled Pisa with his grandfather, and on the death of the latter waged war for five years — 1288–93 — against that city and the Ghibelline forces of Guido da Montefeltro (*Inf.* XXVII). He was an ally of Florence — to which he made several visits in 1289 — and other Guelf towns of Tuscany, and became captain general of the Guelf league. We learn from *Inf.* XXI, 94–6, that Dante had a hand in one of his campaigns, being present at the siege of Caprona in 1289. Although Nino's life was devoted mainly to politics and strife, he seems to have been fond of poetry. He lived until 1296. Conrad Malaspina, who died two years earlier, was the lord of Villafranca on the Magra (which flows into the sea near the Gulf of Spezia) and other holdings in the northwest. For a century his house had been famous for its gallantry and its liberality to troubadours; and 'the glory of the purse and the sword' had not declined. In October, 1306, Dante acted as attorney for the family in concluding a treaty of peace. One of the letters ascribed to him (Epistola III) is addressed to Moroello Malaspina, his former host, to whom obscure reference is made in *Inf.* XXIV, 145–50. The poet's splendid tribute of just praise is a grateful return for kindness to the exile.

Era già l' ora che volge il disio
  Ai naviganti e intenerisce il core,
  Lo dì ch' han detto ai dolci amici addio,
E che lo nuovo peregrin d' amore
  Punge, se ode squilla di lontano   5
  Che paia il giorno pianger che si more,
Quand' io incominciai a render vano
  L' udire, ed a mirare una dell' alme
  Surta, che l' ascoltar chiedea con mano.
Ella giunse e levò ambo le palme,   10
  Ficcando gli occhi verso l' orïente,

7. Cf. IV, 1–12: Dante becomes so absorbed in gazing that he can hear nothing.
9. Cf. Acts xiii, 16: 'Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand said,' etc. Also *Met.*, I, 205–6; *Æn.*, XII, 692.
10. *Giunse*, 'clasped.'

Come dicesse a Dio: 'D' altro non calme.'
Te lucis ante sì devotamente
Le uscì di bocca, e con sì dolci note,
Che fece me a me uscir di mente. 15
E l' altre poi dolcemente e devote
Seguitar lei per tutto l' inno intero,
Avendo gli occhi alle superne rote.
Aguzza qui, Lettor, ben gli occhi al vero,
Chè il velo è ora ben tanto sottile, 20
Certo, che il trapassar dentro è leggiero.
Io vidi quello esercito gentile
Tacito poscia riguardare in sue,
Quasi aspettando pallido ed umile.
E vidi uscir dell' alto e scender giue 25
Due angeli con due spade affocate,
Tronche e private delle punte sue.
Verdi, come fogliette pur mo nate,
Erano in veste, che da verdi penne
Percosse traean dietro e ventilate. 30
L' un poco sopra noi a star si venne
E l' altro scese in l' opposita sponda,
Sì che la gente in mezzo si contenne.
Ben discerneva in lor la testa bionda;
Ma nelle facce l' occhio si smarria, 35
Come virtù che al troppo si confonda.
'Ambo vegnon del grembo di Maria,'
Disse Sordello, 'a guardia della valle,
Per lo serpente che verrà via via.'

12. *Calme* = *mi cale.*
15. 'That it made me forget myself.'
18. The 'upper wheels' are the revolving heavens.
23. *Sue* = *su:* see IV, 47. Cf. *giue* in l. 25.
28. *Pur mo*, 'only now,' 'just.'
36. *Virtù*, 'faculty.' — *Troppo*, 'excess,' i. e., of light. — Cf. II, 39.
39. *Via via*, 'presently.'

Ond' io, che non sapeva per qual calle, 40
Mi volsi intorno, e stretto m' accostai,
Tutto gelato, alle fidate spalle.
E Sordello anco: 'Ora avvalliamo omai
Tra le grandi ombre, e parleremo ad esse.
Grazïoso fia lor vedervi assai.' 45
Solo tre passi credo ch' io scendesse,
E fui di sotto, e vidi un che mirava
Pur me, come conoscer mi volesse.
Tempo era già che l' aere s' annerava,
Ma non sì che tra gli occhi suoi e i miei 50
Non dichiarisse ciò che pria serrava.
Ver me si fece, ed io ver lui mi fei.
Giudice Nin gentil, quanto mi piacque,
Quando ti vidi non esser tra i rei!
Nullo bel salutar tra noi si tacque; 55
Poi domandò: 'Quant' è che tu venisti
A piè del monte per le lontane acque?'
'O,' diss' io lui, 'per entro i lochi tristi
Venni stamane, e sono in prima vita,
Ancor che l' altra sì andando acquisti.' 60
E come fu la mia risposta udita,
Sordello ed egli indietro si raccolse,
Come gente di subito smarrita.
L' uno a Virgilio, e l' altro ad un si volse

46. *Tre passi:* the bank is not high (VII, 72), and Dante has been observing the spirits at close range (VII, 88–9). Cf. XXVIII, 70. — *Scendesse* = *scendessi*.
51. It was not too late for the darkening air to 'disclose what it had locked up (concealed) before': now that they are so near, Dante and Nino can discern each other's features.
52. *Fei* = *feci*.
54. *I rei:* the damned.
60. *Ancor che*, 'although.' — *Acquisti*, 'I am winning.'
62. *Si raccolse:* i. e., *si raccolsero*, 'drew.' Sordello, up to this time, has not noticed that Dante is alive.

Che sedea lì, gridando: 'Su, Corrado, 65
Vieni a veder che Dio per grazia volse.'
Poi volto a me: 'Per quel singular grado
Che tu dei a colui che sì nasconde
Lo suo primo perchè che non gli è guado,
Quando sarai di là dalle larghe onde, 70
Di' a Giovanna mia, che per me chiami
Là dove agl' innocenti si risponde.
Non credo che la sua madre più m' ami,
Poscia che trasmutò le bianche bende,
Le quai convien che misera ancor brami. 75
Per lei assai di lieve si comprende
Quanto in femmina foco d' amor dura,
Se l' occhio o il tatto spesso non l' accende.
Non le farà sì bella sepoltura
La vipera, che i Milanesi accampa, 80
Com' avria fatto il gallo di Gallura.'
Così dicea, segnato della stampa,
Nel suo aspetto, di quel dritto zelo

65. This Conrad reappears in l. 109.
66. *Che*, 'what.' — *Volse* = *volle:* cf. *Inf.* II, 118, XXIX, 102.
67. *Singular grado*, 'peculiar gratitude.'
68. *Dei* = *devi.*
69. *Perchè*, 'wherefore,' i. e., reason. — *Non gli è guado*, 'there is no ford to it': it is impenetrable.
71. Joan was Nino's only child. In 1308 she was married to Rizzardo di Camino. Cf. *Bull.*, XVII, 124.
73. Nino's wife was Beatrice, daughter of Obizzo II d'Este (cf. *Inf.* XII, 111). In June, 1300, she married Galeazzo di Matteo Visconti. As it is now April, 1300, we may suppose, either that Dante did not know the exact date of the marriage, or that Nino is here speaking of it only as something contemplated.
74. Married women wore a veil, called *bende;* the widow's veil was white.
75. In 1302 the Visconti were driven from Milan, and Galeazzo and his wife were compelled to take refuge with her family in Ferrara.
77. Cf. *Æn.*, IV, 569–70: 'varium et mutabile semper Femina.'
80. The cognizance of the Visconti, the lords of Milan, was a blue viper swallowing a red Saracen. These arms will not adorn her tomb so well as would Nino's, the cock, the emblem of Gallura. In the 13th century the Milanese, when at war, never pitched their camp until they had hoisted the Visconti standard.

Che misuratamente in core avvampa.
Gli occhi miei ghiotti andavan pure al cielo, 85
Pur là dove le stelle son più tarde,
Sì come rota più presso allo stelo.
E il Duca mio: 'Figliuol, che lassù guarde?'
Ed io a lui: 'A quelle tre facelle,
Di che il polo di qua tutto quanto arde.' 90
Ed egli a me: 'Le quattro chiare stelle
Che vedevi staman son di là basse,
E queste son salite ov' eran quelle.'
Com' ei parlava, e Sordello a sè il trasse
Dicendo: 'Vedi là il nostro avversaro!' 95
E drizzò il dito, perchè in là guardasse.
Da quella parte onde non ha riparo
La picciola vallea, era una biscia,
Forse qual diede ad Eva il cibo amaro.
Tra l' erba e i fior venia la mala striscia, 100
Volgendo ad or ad or la testa al dosso,
Leccando come bestia che si liscia.
Io non vidi, e però dicer non posso,
Come mosser gli astor celestïali,
Ma vidi bene l' uno e l' altro mosso. 105
Sentendo fender l' aere alle verdi ali,
Fuggì 'l serpente, e gli angeli dier volta,

87. *Stelo*, 'stem,' i. e., axle. Near the pole, the end of the axis of the heavens, the stars revolve slowest.
88. *Guarde* = *guardi*.
89. The 'three torches' represent the three theological virtues: see the first paragraph of the Argument to Canto VII.
91. Cf. I, 22–7.
94. *E* is superfluous: cf. *Inf*. XIX, 3.
97. Apparently from the lower end, where the valley opens.
99. Gen. iii, 4–6.
100. *Striscia*, 'trail.'
103. *Dicer* = *dire*.
107. *Dier* = *diedero*.

Suso alle poste rivolando eguali.
L' ombra che s' era al Giudice raccolta,
Quando chiamò, per tutto quell' assalto 110
Punto non fu da me guardare sciolta.
'Se la lucerna che ti mena in alto
Trovi nel tuo arbitrio tanta cera
Quant' è mestier infino al sommo smalto,'
Cominciò ella, 'se novella vera 115
Di Valdimacra o di parte vicina
Sai, dilla a me, che già grande là era.
Chiamato fui Corrado Malaspina:
Non son l' antico, ma di lui discesi.
A' miei portai l' amor che qui raffina.' 120
'O,' diss' io lui, 'per li vostri paesi
Giammai non fui; ma dove si dimora,
Per tutta Europa, ch' ei non sien palesi?
La fama che la vostra casa onora
Grida i signori e grida la contrada, 125
Sì che ne sa chi non vi fu ancora.
Ed io vi giuro, s' io di sopra vada,
Che vostra gente onrata non si sfregia
Del pregio della borsa e della spada.

110. Cf. l. 64.
112. This is the hortative use of *se*: *Inf.* X, 82; *Purg.* II, 16. The meaning is: 'As thou hopest that illuminating grace (the lantern which leads thee up) may find in thy free will the responsive spirit (the wax, food for the flame) that is needed to take thee to the Earthly Paradise.'
114. *Smalto*, 'enamel,' is used figuratively by Italian poets in two senses, 'stone,' and 'greensward' or 'garden': here it has the second meaning.
116. The valley of the Magra (*Inf.* XXIV, 145) is a part of the district of Lunigiana.
119. The older and more famous Conrad Malaspina, who lived in the first half of the 13th century, was the grandfather of the present speaker.
120. *Raffina*, 'is purified.'
122. In 1300 Dante had not been there.
125. *Grida*, 'proclaims,' celebrates.
127. The *se* of asseveration (*Inf.* X, 82): 'as I hope to go.'
128. *Non si sfregia*, 'does not despoil itself.'

Uso e natura sì la privilegia 130
Che, perchè il capo reo lo mondo torca,
Sola va dritta e il mal cammin dispregia.'
Ed egli: 'Or va, chè il sol non si ricorca
Sette volte nel letto che il Montone
Con tutti e quattro i piè copre ed inforca, 135
Che cotesta cortese opinïone
Ti fia chiavata in mezzo della testa
Con maggior chiovi che d' altrui sermone,
Se corso di giudizio non s' arresta.'

131. 'No matter how the wicked head (Rome) may twist the world awry.'
133, 134, 135. The sun will not return seven times to the sign of Aries, the Ram: seven years will not pass. The sun is in Aries from March 21 to April 21. The prophecy is made in April, 1300. Dante's 'courteous opinion' of the Malaspina is, then, to be confirmed ('nailed in his head') by experience before March 21, 1307. We know that he was with them on Oct. 6, 1306.

CANTO IX

ARGUMENT

During each of the three nights that Dante spends on the island he has an allegorical vision, related to his present state or his immediate future. In the first dream he fancies himself carried up through the sky by a golden eagle; and this flight is but the image of a real spiritual ascent. Souls earnestly striving to reach God are always mysteriously assisted by grace, which comes to meet them and so speeds them on their way that their swift progress passes their understanding. 'They that wait upon the Lord,' says Isaiah xl, 31, 'shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles.' Lucia, then, the symbol of Illuminating Grace, who came to Dante's help at the beginning of his struggle (*Inf.* II, 97–108) and who reappears to him at his journey's end (*Par.* XXXII, 137), now lifts him up in his sleep and bears him, at daybreak, over the long, steep incline to the very gate of Purgatory.

There he beholds, seated on the steps, an angelic guardian, who represents Ecclesiastical Authority. In the hand of this 'porter,' reflecting the sun's rays, is a bare sword, 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God' (Ephesians vi, 17). From beneath his garment he draws the keys entrusted by Christ to Peter and his successors — 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Mat. xvi, 19). They are two, the golden key of power and the silver key of discernment; or, as Peter Lombard describes them in his *Sententiæ*, IV, xviii, 502, 'scientia discernendi peccata et potestas judicandi de peccatis.' The priest needs not only the authority to loose and bind, delegated to him by God, but also judgment to direct him in the use of it. The golden key, purchased with Christ's blood, is 'the more precious'; but the other, the silver key of discrimination, 'requires vast skill and wit' to 'disentangle the knot.'

The stone threshold of Purgatory, which is the angel's seat, seems to Dante to be of adamant; it evidently typifies the firm foundation of ecclesiastical power — 'thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church' (Mat. xvi, 18). Leading up to it are three steps: the first is of white, smooth marble; the second,

of rough, dark stone, scorched and cracked; the third, 'piled upon' the second, is blood-red. Apparently they stand for the three stages in the career of man which led up to the founding of the Church: original innocence, sin, and atonement. The same three stages recur in the life of every transgressor who finds salvation. The feet of the gatekeeper rest upon the red step of atonement; there it is that Dante prostrates himself and beats his breast. Most commentators see in the three stairs the three parts of the sacrament of penance — contrition, confession, satisfaction. But according to the literal sense of the poem the souls reaching the gate should have accomplished these duties (for the most part at least) before death; otherwise they would not have attained the mountain at all. And in Dante's symbolical journey through Purgatory (indicating the purification of his soul by discipline on earth) he is not yet ready for this sacrament, which forms the culmination of his expiatory task. Contrition, confession, and satisfaction await him at the top of the mountain, where they are administered by Beatrice herself: *Purg.* XXX, 97–9; XXXI, 1–36, 88–90.

For still different explanations of the steps, see Flam., II, 101; Tor., 395. For the keys, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., Qu. xvii, Art. 3. — Cf. *Romania*, XXXIX, 582–3.

La concubina di Titone antico
  Già s' imbiancava al balco d' oriente,
  Fuor delle braccia del suo dolce amico;
Di gemme la sua fronte era lucente,

1. In two places in the *Æneid* — IV, 584–5 and IX, 459–60 — we find the lines:

'Et jam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.'

In the *Georgics*, I, 447, the second line occurs once more. Tithonus was therefore well known to Dante as the husband of Aurora, the dawn. Having to describe moonrise, the lunar dawn, — two or three hours after sunset on the island, — the poet fancifully calls the lunar aurora 'the concubine of old Tithonus,' as contrasted with sunrise, his lawful spouse.

2. The lunar aurora 'was already whitening in the balcony of the east': the white light of the moon was appearing on the eastern horizon.

4, 5, 6. In the eastern sky, where the moon was to appear, was the constellation of Scorpio. This is astronomically correct: see Moore, III, 74–85. For the description of the 'cold creature,' cf. Rev. ix, 5: 'and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man' — 'cum percutit hominem' (i. e., 'percote la gente'). See also *Met.*, XV, 371:

'Scorpius exibit, caudaque minabitur unca.'

Poste in figura del freddo animale 5
Che con la coda percote la gente;
E la notte de' passi con che sale
Fatti avea due nel loco ov' eravamo,
E il terzo già chinava in giuso l' ale,
Quand' io, che meco avea di quel d' Adamo, 10
Vinto dal sonno, in sull' erba inchinai
Ove già tutti e cinque sedevamo.
Nell' ora che comincia i tristi lai
La rondinella, presso alla mattina,
Forse a memoria de' suoi primi guai, 15
E che la mente nostra peregrina
Più dalla carne, e men da' pensier presa.
Alle sue visïon quasi è divina,
In sogno mi parea veder sospesa
Un' aquila nel ciel, con penne d' oro, 20
Con l' ali aperte, ed a calare intesa;
Ed esser mi parea là dove foro
Abbandonati i suoi da Ganimede,
Quando fu ratto al sommo consistoro.
Fra me pensava: 'Forse questa fiede 25

7. The 'steps' with which night ascends are the hours between sunset and midnight. Nearly three hours have passed since nightfall.

9. The third step 'was bending its wings downward': the third hour had nearly finished its flight. Such incongruous mixed metaphors are not uncommon in Dante.

10. The 'stuff of Adam' is the body.

12. Sordello, Virgil, Dante, Nino, Conrad.

15. An allusion to the familiar and tragic story of Philomela and Progne, told by Ovid in *Met.*, VI, 423–674. According to the version followed by Dante, it was the outraged princess, Philomela, who was turned into a swallow: cf. XVII, 19–21.

18. Cf. *Conv.*, II, ix, 101–8; also Cicero, *De Senectute*, XXII, 81 ('Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam.') Dreams that occurred shortly before dawn were thought to be prophetic: cf. *Inf.* XXVI, 7.

22. On Mt. Ida, in Phrygia, whence the youthful hunter, Ganymede, was caught up by an eagle, from the midst of his guardians and dogs, to be cupbearer to the gods: *Æn.*, V, 252–7; cf. *Met.*, X, 155–61.

Pur qui per uso, e forse d' altro loco
Disdegna di portarne suso in piede.'
Poi mi parea che, roteata un poco,
Terribil come folgor discendesse,
E me rapisse suso infino al foco. 30
Ivi pareva ch' ella ed io ardesse;
E sì l' incendio imaginato cosse
Che convenne che il sonno si rompesse.
Non altrimenti Achille si riscosse,
Gli occhi svegliati rivolgendo in giro, 35
E non sappiendo là dove si fosse,
Quando la madre da Chiron a Schiro
Trafugò lui dormendo in le sue braccia
(Là onde poi li Greci il dipartiro),
Che mi scoss' io, sì come dalla faccia 40
Mi fuggì il sonno, e diventai ismorto,
Come fa l' uom che spaventato agghiaccia.
Dallato m' era solo il mio conforto,
E il sole er' alto già più che due ore,
E il viso m' era alla marina torto. 45

27. 'He disdains to carry off on high in his feet' (*pedibus . . . uncis: Æn.*, V, 255): cf. Ruggerone di Palermo, *Ben mi degio alegrare* (E. Monaci, *Crestomazia*, 77, No. 37), 16–19:—

'E fa come lo nibio ciertamente,
Ch' elgli è bello e possanti e non vole pilgliare —
Per non troppo affanare —
Se non cosa quale sia parisciente.'

Help comes from above only to those who have climbed as high as their own power will take them.

30. The sphere of fire is between the earth's atmosphere and the heaven of the moon.

34. To prevent her son Achilles from going to the Trojan war, Thetis took him in his sleep from his teacher, the centaur Chiron (*Inf.* XII, 71), to the court of the peaceful Lycomedes on the island of Scyros. When Achilles awoke, he did not know where he was. See Statius, *Achilleid*, I, 104–250.

39. Ulysses and Diomed discovered Achilles disguised in women's garments and took him away.

44. It is the morning of Easter Monday. The poets are still on the eastern side of the mountain.

'Non aver tema,' disse il mio Signore:
  'Fatti sicur, chè noi siamo a buon punto.
  Non stringer, ma rallarga ogni vigore!
Tu se' omai al Purgatorio giunto.
  Vedi là il balzo che il chiude d' intorno; 50
  Vedi l' entrata là 've par disgiunto.
Dianzi, nell' alba che precede al giorno,
  Quando l' anima tua dentro dormia
  Sopra li fiori onde laggiù è adorno,
Venne una donna, e disse: "Io son Lucìa! 55
  Lasciatemi pigliar costui che dorme,
  Sì l' agevolerò per la sua via."
Sordel rimase, e l' altre gentil forme.
  Ella ti tolse, e come il dì fu chiaro,
  Sen venne suso, ed io per le sue orme. 60
Qui ti posò; e pria mi dimostraro
  Gli occhi suoi belli quell' entrata aperta;
  Poi ella e il sonno ad una se n' andaro.'
A guisa d' uom che in dubbio si raccerta,
  E che muta in conforto sua paura, 65
  Poi che la verità gli è discoperta,
Mi cambia' io; e come senza cura
  Videmi il Duca mio, su per lo balzo
  Si mosse, ed io diretro inver l' altura.
Lettor, tu vedi ben com' io innalzo 70
  La mia materia, e però con più arte
  Non ti maravigliar s' io la rincalzo.
Noi ci appressammo, ed eravamo in parte,

50. A ledge — *balzo* (cf. IV, 47) — runs around the mountain outside of Purgatory.
59. There was no ascent until the sunlight appeared: cf. VII, 44.
72. *Rincalzo*, 'support.' Dante calls attention to the elaborate allegory he has contrived for the loftier theme that follows.

Che là dove pareami prima un rotto,
Pur come un fesso che muro diparte, 75
Vidi una porta, e tre gradi di sotto,
Per gire ad essa, di color diversi,
Ed un portier che ancor non facea motto.
E come l' occhio più e più v' apersi,
Vidil seder sopra il grado soprano, 80
Tal nella faccia ch' io non lo soffersi.
Ed una spada nuda aveva in mano,
Che rifletteva i raggi sì ver noi
Ch' io dirizzava spesso il viso invano.
'Dite costinci, che volete voi?' 85
Cominciò egli a dire: 'Ov' è la scorta?
Guardate che il venir su non vi noi!'
'Donna del ciel, di queste cose accorta,'
Rispose il mio Maestro a lui, 'pur dianzi
Ne disse: "Andate là, quivi è la porta."' 90
'Ed ella i passi vostri in bene avanzi,'
Ricominciò il cortese portinaio:
'Venite dunque a' nostri gradi innanzi.'
Là 've venimmo, allo scaglion primaio,
Bianco marmo era, sì pulito e terso 95
Ch' io mi specchiava in esso quale io paio.
Era il secondo, tinto più che perso,
D' una petrina ruvida ed arsiccia,
Crepata per lo lungo e per traverso.
Lo terzo, che di sopra s' ammassiccia, 100
Porfido mi parea sì fiammeggiante

85. Cf. *Inf.* XII, 63.
87. *Noi:* present subjunctive of *noiare*, 'harm' (cf. *Inf.* XXIII, 15).—The angel sees that Virgil and Dante are not souls fit for Purgatory. Reason, without grace, is not a sufficient guide on the road of penance which Purgatory symbolizes.
97. 'Perse' is a very dark purple color: cf. *Inf.* V, 89.

Come sangue che fuor di vena spiccia.
Sopra questo teneva ambo le piante
L' Angel di Dio, sedendo in sulla soglia,
Che mi sembiava pietra di diamante. 105
Per li tre gradi su di buona voglia
Mi trasse il Duca mio, dicendo: 'Chiedi
Umilemente che il serrame scioglia.'
Divoto mi gittai a' santi piedi;
Misericordia chiesi che m' aprisse; 110
Ma pria nel petto tre fiate mi diedi.
Sette *P* nella fronte mi descrisse
Col punton della spada, e: 'Fa che lavi,
Quando sei dentro, queste piaghe,' disse.
Cenere, o terra che secca si cavi, 115
D' un color fora col suo vestimento,
E di sotto da quel trasse due chiavi.
L' una era d' oro e l' altra era d' argento.
Pria con la bianca e poscia con la gialla
Fece alla porta sì ch' io fui contento. 120
'Quandunque l' una d' este chiavi falla
Che non si volga dritta per la toppa,'
Diss' egli a noi, 'non s' apre questa calla.
Più cara è l' una; ma l' altra vuol troppa
D' arte e d' ingegno avanti che disserri, 125
Perch' ell' è quella che il nodo disgroppa.
Da Pier le tengo; e dissemi ch' io erri

111. *Diedi*, 'smote': in remorse for sins of thought, word, and deed.
112. *P* stands for *peccatum*, 'sin': the seven letters are the emblem of the seven capital vices, of which Dante's soul is to be cleansed by penance. Cf. Rev. xiii, 16; xx, 4.
116. The gray color of the angel's garment betokens the humility of the priest, who is God's servant.
121. *Quandunque*, 'whenever.'
123. *Calla*, 'passage': cf. IV, 22.
126. *Il nodo disgroppa*, 'unties the knot.'

Anzi ad aprir che a tenerla serrata,
Purchè la gente a' piedi mi s' atterri.'
Poi pinse l' uscio alla porta sacrata, 130
Dicendo: 'Entrate! Ma facciovi accorti
Che di fuor torna chi 'ndietro si guata.'
E quando fur ne' cardini distorti
Gli spigoli di quella regge sacra,
Che di metallo son, sonanti e forti, 135
Non rugghiò sì, nè si mostrò sì acra
Tarpeia, come tolto le fu il buono
Metello, per che poi rimase macra.
Io mi rivolsi attento al primo tuono,

132. The sinner must enter upon the course of penance with no mental reservation; if he looks back upon his former life, at the moment of leaving it, he is unworthy to proceed. Cf. Luke ix, 62: 'No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.' Also Gen. xix, 17: 'Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain; escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed.' See, furthermore, Boethius, *Cons.*, III, Met. xii (the story of Orpheus and Eurydice) near the end:

> 'Ne dum Tartara liquerit
> Fas sit lumina flectere.
> . . . . . .
> Vos hæc fabula respicit,
> Quicumque in superum diem
> Mentem ducere quæritis.'

This warning applies only to the entrance: once within the gate, souls are safe from temptation.

134. *Spigoli*, 'pivots.' — *Regge*, 'portal.'

136. When Cæsar entered Rome, after crossing the Rubicon, he wished to take possession of the public treasure, kept in the temple of Saturn at the foot of the Tarpeian rock. The tribune Metellus, after a futile resistance, departed, leaving the temple unprotected. Then the gates were opened and the rock resounded (Lucan, *Phars.*, III, 153–5):

> 'Protinus abducto patuerunt templa Metello.
> Tunc rupes Tarpeia sonat, magnoque reclusas
> Testatur stridore fores.'

The gate of Purgatory roars because, owing to the perversity of man, it is so seldom opened: cf. X, 2.

138. After the spoliation of the temple the Tarpeian rock 'was left lean.' Cf. *Phars.*, III, 167–8:

> 'Tristi spoliantur templa rapina,
> Pauperiorque fuit tunc primum Cæsare Roma.'

139. *Tuono* here, apparently, means not 'thunder' but 'tone,' and refers not to what precedes but to the following line: I seemed to hear *Te Deum* from within the gate, and 'turned attentive at the first note.'

E *Te Deum laudamus* mi parea 140
Udir in voce mista al dolce suono.
Tale imagine appunto mi rendea
Ciò ch' io udiva qual prender si suole
Quando a cantar con organi si stea:
Che or sì or no s' intendon le parole. 145

140. This hymn of praise to God, who opens Heaven to the faithful, is appropriate to the place.

144. 'When people are singing with an organ.' — *Stea = stia*. — On reading these lines, one is reminded of the old and immensely heavy bronze doors in the ancient baptistery of S. Giovanni in Laterano, in Rome; when they are slowly pushed open, these doors emit a succession of loud musical notes that sound like organ peals.

CANTO X

ARGUMENT

PURGATORY proper consists of seven flat, narrow terraces running around the mountain and separated from one another by steep cliffs. On each shelf are souls doing penance for one of the capital vices — pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice and prodigality, gluttony, lust. These wicked dispositions are the source of all sin. Inasmuch as pride is an ingredient in every transgression (which is an assumption of superiority to law), all souls have to suffer in the first circle; in the ensuing circles they are punished according to the nature of their wrongdoing. The terraces are connected by stairways cut into the precipice. When a spirit has cleansed itself of the evil that is expiated on one shelf, it passes on upward to the next terrace that claims it — or, if it has no other stain, to the top of the mountain. At the beginning of each ascent a friendly angel is seen, who removes the last impress of the discarded vice; and a beatitude (Mat. v, 3–8) is heard, appropriate to the circle that is left below. To sustain them, the souls are furnished, on every terrace, with examples of the particular sin that belongs to that spot, and of the opposite virtue. The latter examples — the 'goad' — generally appear to Dante as he enters each circle, the former — the 'check' — as he is about to depart from it. They take different shapes on the various shelves; on the first, they present themselves to the eye as beautiful carvings on the upright wall of the mountain and on the floor. These illustrations of good and evil are drawn from both Christian and pagan lore, but the first example of each of the seven virtues is taken from the life of the Virgin.

Allegorically the torments cheerfully endured on the several terraces represent the forms of discipline to which the sinner must subject himself, under priestly direction, in order to restore his lost innocence and thus fit himself for Heaven. In the first circle, for instance, the spirits crouching under heavy burdens are the image of self-imposed humiliation, the painful subjugation of pride. Dante's journey up through Purgatory signifies the moral training by means of which, obedient to ecclesiastical authority,

he removes from his soul every disposition to evil and regains the purity of heart that enables him to see God. While in the literal sense of the poem he is only an observer of the spirits and their punishments, symbolically he is himself the punished spirit; in the circles of pride, envy, anger, and lust, — if we look for the inner beneath the external meaning, — we can see the poet in the throes of penance.

Poi fummo dentro al soglio della porta
Che il malo amor dell' anime disusa,
Perchè fa parer dritta la via torta,
Sonando la sentii esser richiusa.
E s' io avessi gli occhi volti ad essa, 5
Qual fora stata al fallo degna scusa?
Noi salivam per una pietra fessa,
Che si moveva d' una e d' altra parte,
Sì come l' onda che fugge e s' appressa.
'Qui si convien usare un poco d' arte,' 10
Cominciò il Duca mio, 'in accostarsi
Or quinci, or quindi, al lato che si parte.'
E ciò fece li nostri passi scarsi
Tanto che pria lo scemo della luna
Rigiunse al letto suo, per ricorcarsi, 15
Che noi fossimo fuor di quella cruna.
Ma quando fummo liberi ed aperti
Su dove il monte indietro si raüna,
Io stancato, ed ambedue incerti

2. Love, wrongly directed, so perverts human souls that few of them attain Purgatory: the gate falls into disuse.

5. Cf. IX, 131-2.

8. The narrow crack by which the poets ascend runs zigzag up through the cliff.

12. *Si parte*, 'recedes.' The climbers have to cling now to one side, now to the other, according to the changing direction of the crack.

14. 'Lo scemo della luna': the waning moon, which, of course, sets later than the full moon; it is several hours after sunrise.

16. *Cruna*, 'needle's eye,' i. e., the narrow passage: cf. Mat. xix, 24.

18. *Si rauna*, 'gathers itself': withdraws, leaving a flat terrace.

Di nostra via, ristemmo su in un piano 20
Solingo più che strade per diserti.
Dalla sua sponda, ove confina il vano,
Al piè dell' alta ripa, che pur sale,
Misurrebbe in tre volte un corpo umano;
E quanto l' occhio mio potea trar d' ale, 25
Or dal sinistro ed or dal destro fianco,
Questa cornice mi parea cotale.
Lassù non eran mossi i piè nostri anco
Quand' io conobbi quella ripa intorno, —
Che, dritta, di salita aveva manco, — 30
Esser di marmo candido, e adorno
D' intagli sì che non pur Policreto
Ma la natura lì avrebbe scorno.
L' angel che venne in terra col decreto
Della molt' anni lagrimata pace, 35
Che aperse il ciel dal suo lungo divieto,
Dinanzi a noi pareva sì verace —
Quivi intagliato in un atto soave —
Che non sembiava imagine che tace.
Giurato si saria ch' ei dicesse '*Ave,*' 40
Però che ivi era imaginata quella
Che ad aprir l' alto amor volse la chiave.
Ed avea in atto impressa esta favella,
'*Ecce ancilla Dei,*' propriamente

24. *Misurrebbe*=*misurerebbe*. The width of the shelf, from its outer edge to the foot of the upright cliff, is three times the length of a human body.
25. *Trar d'ale*, 'fly.'
30. 'Which, being vertical, was devoid of ascent,' i. e., could not be climbed.
32. The Greek sculptor, Polycletus, was known by name to Mediæval writers.
33. *Avrebbe scorno*, 'would have been put to shame.'
34. 'The angel' is Gabriel. The first example of humility represents the Virgin at the Annunciation. Cf. Luke i, 26 ff.
40. *Ave*, 'hail,' the greeting of Gabriel to Mary: Luke i, 28.
44. 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord,' Mary's reply to Gabriel: Luke i, 38.

Come figura in cera si suggella. 45
'Non tener pure ad un loco la mente,'
Disse il dolce Maestro, che m' avea
Da quella parte onde il core ha la gente.
Per ch' io mi mossi col viso, e vedea
Diretro da Maria, da quella costa 50
Onde m' era colui che mi movea,
Un' altra storia nella roccia imposta;
Per ch' io varcai Virgilio, e femmi presso,
Acciocchè fosse agli occhi miei disposta.
Era intagliato lì nel marmo stesso 55
Lo carro e i buoi traendo l' arca santa,
Per che si teme officio non commesso.
Dinanzi parea gente; e tutta quanta,
Partita in sette cori, a' due miei sensi
Faceva dir l' un 'No,' l' altro 'Sì, canta.' 60
Similemente, al fummo degl' incensi
Che v' era immaginato, gli occhi e il naso
Ed al sì ed al no discordi fensi.
Lì precedeva al benedetto vaso,
Trescando alzato, l' umile Salmista; 65

47, 48. Virgil had Dante on his left. On Virgil's right was another carving.
52. *Imposta*, 'designed': cf. *Inf.* XVII, 18.
53. *Femmi* = *mi feci*.
56. The second example of humility pictures King David dancing 'with all his might' before the ark of the covenant, as it is drawn into the city on a 'new cart': 2 Samuel vi, 12–6.
57. We have here a brief, parenthetical reference to an incident not represented in the carving — the story of Uzzah, which makes us chary of assuming offices not entrusted to us. Uzzah, one of the drivers of the cart, seeing the ark shaken and fearing it would fall, 'put forth his hand . . . and took hold of it'; whereupon 'God smote him' for his presumption, and 'there he died': 2 Samuel vi, 3–7.
59. The 'seven choirs' appear in the Vulgate, but not in the English Bible: 2 Samuel vi, 12.
61. *Fummo* = *fumo*.
63. *Fensi* = *si fecero*.
65. *Alzato:* 'and David was *girded* with a linen ephod' (2 Samuel vi, 14). When he returned home, his wife, Michal, Saul's daughter, reproached him for

E più e men che re era in quel caso.
D' incontra effigïata ad una vista
D' un gran palazzo Micol ammirava,
Sì come donna dispettosa e trista.
Io mossi i piè del loco dov' io stava, 70
Per avvisar da presso un' altra storia
Che diretro a Micol mi biancheggiava.
Quivi era storïata l' alta gloria
Del roman principato il cui valore
Mosse Gregorio alla sua gran vittoria 75
(Io dico di Traiano imperadore);
Ed una vedovella gli era al freno,
Di lagrime atteggiata e di dolore.
Intorno a lui parea calcato e pieno
Di cavalieri, e l' aquile nell' oro 80
Sopr' esso in vista al vento si movieno.
La miserella intra tutti costoro
Parea dicer: 'Signor, fammi vendetta

uncovering himself 'in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself': 2 Samuel vi, 20.

66. David replied to Michal: 'I will yet be more vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight: and of the maidservants which thou hast spoken of, of them shall I be had in honour' (2 Samuel vi, 22).

67. *Vista*, 'view-point,' 'outlook.' 'Michal Saul's daughter looked through a window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the Lord; and she despised him in her heart': 2 Samuel vi, 16.

68. *Ammirava*, 'looked on.'

74. The third example of humility is furnished by Trajan, the 'Roman prince' who acknowledged the justice of the poor widow's claim. For the origin of this story, which had wide currency in the Middle Ages, see G. Paris, *La légende de Trajan*, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études*, 1878; A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, 1889, II, 1; *Giorn. dant.*, XIV, 199.

75. According to a legend universally believed in Dante's time, St. Gregory was so moved by the thought of Trajan's justice that he interceded with God for him; whereupon Trajan's soul was allowed to return from Limbus to earth and inhabit its body long enough to embrace Christianity, thus winning salvation: cf. *Par.* XX, 43–8, 106–17. This was the 'great victory.'

78. *Atteggiata*, 'in guise.'

80. The Roman eagles on a golden background, in banners.

81. *Movieno* = *movevano*.

Del mio figliuol ch' è morto, ond' io m' accoro.'
Ed egli a lei rispondere: 'Ora aspetta 85
Tanto ch' io torni.' Ed ella: 'Signor mio,'
Come persona in cui dolor s' affretta,
'Se tu non torni?' Ed ei: 'Chi fia dov' io
La ti farà.' Ed ella: 'L' altrui bene
A te che fia, se il tuo metti in obblio?' 90
Ond' elli: 'Or ti conforta, chè conviene
Ch' io solva il mio dovere, anzi ch' io mova.
Guistizia vuole, e pietà mi ritiene.'
Colui che mai non vide cosa nova
Produsse esto visibile parlare, 95
Novello a noi, perchè quì non si trova.
Mentr' io mi dilettava di guardare
Le imagini di tante umilitadi,
E, per lo fabbro loro, a veder care,
'Ecco di qua, ma fanno i passi radi,' 100
Mormorava il Poeta, 'molte genti.
Questi ne invïeranno agli alti gradi.'
Gli occhi miei, ch' a mirar eran intenti
Per veder novitadi, onde son vaghi,
Volgendosi ver lui non furon lenti. 105
Non vo' però, Lettor, che tu ti smaghi
Di buon proponimento, per udire
Come Dio vuol che il debito si paghi.
Non attender la forma del martire:
Pensa la succession; pensa che, a peggio, 110

88. *Chi fia dov' io*, 'he who shall be in my place.'
89, 90. 'What shall another's welldoing avail thee?'
94. *Colui:* God.
106. *Ti smaghi*, 'be distraught': cf. XXVII, 104. Dante fears that the horror of the penance may divert the reader from his 'good resolution' to make amends.
109. *Non attender*, 'heed not.' Cf. Romans viii, 18.
110. *Succession*, 'consequence.'

Oltre la gran sentenza non può ire.
Io cominciai: 'Maestro, quel ch' io veggio
Mover a noi non mi sembran persone,
E non so che, sì nel veder vaneggio.'
Ed egli a me: 'La grave condizione 115
Di lor tormento a terra li rannicchia
Sì che i miei occhi pria n' ebber tenzone.
Ma guarda fiso là, e disviticchia
Col viso quel che vien sotto a quei sassi.
Già scorger puoi come ciascun si picchia.' 120
O superbi Cristian miseri lassi,
Che, della vista della mente infermi,
Fidanza avete ne' ritrosi passi,
Non v' accorgete voi che noi siam vermi
Nati a formar l' angelica farfalla, 125
Che vola alla giustizia senza schermi?
Di che l' animo vostro in alto galla,
Poi siete quasi entomata in difetto,
Sì come vermo, in cui formazion falla?
Come per sostentar solaio o tetto, 130
Per mensola talvolta una figura

111. In any case the suffering will stop at the day of judgment.
112. *Veggio* = *vedo*.
117. *Tenzone*, 'controversy.'
118. *Disviticchia*, 'unscrew.'
124. Cf. Job xxv, 6: 'man, that is a worm.'
125. Cf. Mat. xxii, 30: 'For in the resurrection they . . . are as the angels of God in heaven.'
127. *Di che*, 'wherefore.' — *Galla*, 'soars.'
128. *Entomata in difetto*, 'defective insects.' The Greek word is ἔντομον, pl. ἔντομα. Dante probably found *entoma* in his Latin version of Aristotle, and, taking it for a singular, formed a plural on the model of *poema*, *poemata*, and other words.
129. *Falla*, 'is lacking.' Albertus Magnus speaks of the incompleteness of caterpillars and such creatures: *De Animalibus*, XVII, Tract. ii, Cap. 1, beginning.
130. *Solaio*, 'ceiling.'
131. *Mensola*, 'corbel,' 'bracket.'

Si vede giunger le ginocchia al petto, —
La qual fa del non ver vera rancura
Nascere a chi la vede, — così fatti
Vid' io color, quando posi ben cura. 135
Ver è che più e meno eran contratti,
Secondo ch' avean più e meno addosso.
E qual più pazïenza avea negli atti,
Piangendo parea dicer: 'Più non posso.'

133. The 'unreal' suffering of the cariatid arouses a 'real pang' of pity in the beholder.

138, 139. Even the most patient among them seemed to be at the limit of his endurance.

CANTO XI

ARGUMENT

Among the victims of pride are representatives of three types — the arrogance of noble birth, the vanity of artistic excellence, and the haughtiness of power. Humbert, son of William, of the ancient and mighty Ghibelline family of the Aldobrandeschi, was count of Santafiore in the Maremma (cf. VI, 111). Like his father he was hostile to Siena, and in 1259 he was killed by Sienese troops at his stronghold of Campagnatico, in the valley of the Ombrone, after a fierce and bloody fight. Oderisi of Gubbio, in the Duchy of Urbino, was a famous illuminator of manuscripts in the second half of the 13th century. He spent some years in Bologna and Rome, and died, it would seem, in the latter city in 1299. Provenzano Salvani, a sagacious and valiant Ghibelline chief, was all-powerful in Siena at the time of her defeat of Florence at Montaperti in 1260. Nine years later, at the battle of Colle di Valdelsa, Florence was victorious, and Provenzano, the leader of the Sienese army, was defeated and beheaded. It is related of him that, when at the height of his power, to save the life of a friend held for ransom by Charles of Anjou, he meekly begged of the passers-by until he had collected the 10,000 florins required. The practice of soliciting alms to pay fines was common enough in the Middle Ages, but usually the mendicants went from house to house; Provenzano, — who might have procured the money by force, and who, moreover, was acting in behalf of another, — took his stand in the Campo, or great public square, of Siena, where he was exposed to the sight of all. This act of generous humility, according to Oderisi, so atoned for his many acts of presumption that, although he postponed repentance until the end, he was admitted to Purgatory immediately after his death.

'O Padre nostro, che nei cieli stai,
Non circonscritto, ma per più amore

1. The canto opens (ll. 1–24) with an expanded paraphrase of the Lord's prayer (Mat. vi, 9–13), recited by the spirits of the first circle. Such paraphrases were not uncommon in the Middle Ages.

2. God dwells in Heaven, not because he is 'circumscribed,' restricted to one place, but because he is fondest of his 'first works' — the angels and the heavens.

Che ai primi effetti di lassù tu hai,
Laudato sia il tuo nome e il tuo valore
Da ogni creatura, com' è degno 5
Di render grazie al tuo dolce vapore.
Vegna ver noi la pace del tuo regno,
Chè noi ad essa non potem da noi,
S' ella non vien, con tutto nostro ingegno.
Come del suo voler gli angeli tuoi 10
Fan sacrificio a te, cantando *Osanna*,
Così facciano gli uomini de' suoi.
Dà oggi a noi la cotidiana manna,
Senza la qual per questo aspro diserto
A retro va chi più di gir s' affanna. 15
E come noi lo mal che avem sofferto
Perdoniamo a ciascuno, e tu perdona
Benigno, e non guardar lo nostro merto.
Nostra virtù, che di leggier s' adona,
Non spermentar con l' antico avversaro, 20
Ma libera da lui, che sì la sprona.
Quest' ultima preghiera, Signor caro,
Già non si fa per noi, chè non bisogna,
Ma per color che dietro a noi restaro.'
Così a sè e noi buona ramogna 25

5. *È degno*, 'it is meet.'
6. *Vapore*, 'emanation': the goodness that flows from God.
8. *Potem = possiamo:* see *Inf.* IV, 42. Cf. *Avem* in l. 16.
10. *Suo*, 'their.'
11. 'Hosanna': Mat. xxi, 9, 15. Cf. *V. N.*, Canzone II, 188.
13. The 'daily manna' (Exod. xvi, 14, 31) is spiritual food. The souls in Purgatory, toiling to reach Paradise, are like the Israelites in the desert on their way to the Promised Land.
17. *E*, 'so': cf. *Inf.* XIX, 3.
19. *S'adona*, 'is subdued': cf. *Inf.* VI, 34. The figure is that of a rider (the devil) taming a horse (our virtue).
23. Once inside the gate, souls are free from temptation.
25. *Ramogna*, according to several of the early commentators, signifies 'journey'; the meaning of the word is not otherwise known.

Quell' ombre orando, andavan sotto il pondo, —
Simile a quel che talvolta si sogna, —
Disparmente angosciate, tutte a tondo,
E lasse, su per la prima cornice,
Purgando le caligini del mondo. 30
Se di là sempre ben per noi si dice,
Di qua che dire e far per lor si puote
Da quei ch' hanno al voler buona radice?
Ben si dee loro aitar lavar le note
Che portar quinci, sì che mondi e lievi 35
Possano uscire alle stellate rote.
'Deh! se giustizia e pietà vi disgrevi
Tosto, sì che possiate mover l' ala
Che secondo il disio vostro vi levi,
Mostrate da qual mano in ver la scala 40
Si va più corto; e se c' è più d' un varco,
Quel ne insegnate che men erto cala.
Chè questi che vien meco, per l' incarco
Della carne d' Adamo, ond' ei si veste,
Al montar su, contra sua voglia, è parco.' 45
Le lor parole, che rendero a queste
Che dette avea colui cu' io seguiva,
Non fur da cui venisser manifeste;
Ma fu detto: 'A man destra per la riva
Con noi venite, e troverete il passo 50
Possibile a salir persona viva.

27. The incubus, or nightmare.
28. *Disparmente*, 'unequally' tormented under the weight: some had heavier weights than others. — *A tondo*, 'round and round.'
32, 33. What can be done for them here on earth by those whose will is rooted in the divine will?
36. Cf. VIII, 18.
37. *Se:* cf. *Inf.* X, 82; *Purg.* II, 16. — *Vi disgrevi*, 'unburden you.'
48. It was not clear from whom the words came, because the faces were all hidden.

E s' io non fossi impedito dal sasso
  Che la cervice mia superba doma,
  Onde portar convienmi il viso basso,
Cotesti che ancor vive, e non si noma, 55
  Guardere' io, per veder s' io 'l conosco,
  E per farlo pietoso a questa soma.
Io fui Latino, e nato d' un gran Tosco:
  Guglielmo Aldobrandesco fu mio padre —
  Non so se il nome suo giammai fu vosco. 60
L' antico sangue e l' opere leggiadre
  De' miei maggior mi fer sì arrogante
  Che, non pensando alla comune madre,
Ogni uomo ebbi in dispetto tanto avante
  Ch' io ne mori', — come i Sanesi sanno, 65
  E sallo in Campagnatico ogni fante.
Io sono Omberto; e non pure a me danno
  Superbia fa, chè tutti i miei consorti
  Ha ella tratti seco nel malanno.
E qui convien ch' io questo peso porti 70
  Per lei, tanto che a Dio si satisfaccia,
  Poi ch' io nol fei tra' vivi, qui tra' morti.'
Ascoltando, chinai in giù la faccia;
  Ed un di lor (non questi che parlava)
  Si torse sotto il peso che lo impaccia; 75
E videmi e conobbemi e chiamava,

60. *Vosco* = *con voi*. — The speaker has already learned modesty.
63. The 'common mother' is the earth: cf. Ecclus. xl, 1.
64. *Tanto avante*, 'to such an extent.'
66. *Sallo* = *lo sa*. Cf. *Bull.*, XVII, 127.
68. *Superbia* is the subject of *fa*. — *Consorti*, 'relatives.'
71. *Lei* : *superbia*.
72. *Fei* = *feci*.
73. This humble attitude (cf. l. 78), which is natural enough in the literal sense, seems to indicate allegorically Dante's participation in the penance. See XIII, 136–8.
75. For this use of the present for the imperfect, in the rhyme, cf. XVII, 51.

Tenendo gli occhi con fatica fisi
A me, che tutto chin con loro andava.
'O,' dissi lui, 'non sei tu Oderisi,
L' onor d' Agobbio, e l' onor di quell' arte 80
Che alluminare chiamata è in Parisi?'
'Frate,' diss' egli, 'più ridon le carte
Che pennelleggia Franco Bolognese;
L' onore è tutto or suo, e mio in parte.
Ben non sare' io stato sì cortese 85
Mentre ch' io vissi, per lo gran disio
Dell' eccellenza, ove mio core intese.
Di tal superbia qui si paga il fio.
Ed ancor non sarei qui, se non fosse
Che, possendo peccar, mi volsi a Dio. 90
O vanagloria dell' umane posse!
Com' poco verde in sulla cima dura,
Se non è giunta dall' etati grosse!
Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, ed ora ha Giotto il grido, 95
Sì che la fama di colui è oscura.
Così ha tolto l' uno all' altro Guido

81. The art of 'illuminating' (French *enluminer*, Ital. *miniare*), or illustrating and decorating manuscripts, was held in great esteem before the invention of printing. — *Parisi* =*Parigi*, 'Paris.'

83. Franco of Bologna was known to Vasari, who possessed some of his drawings. We have no other information about him.

90. *Possendo* (=*potendo*) *peccar:* while still alive.

92. *Com' poco*, 'how short a time': how quickly fame withers!

93. 'If it is not followed by barbarous times,' in which no successor comes to obscure the fame of the departed.

94. The Florentine, Giovanni Cimabue, who lived in the second half of the 13th century, put new life into the Byzantine style and was regarded as the restorer of painting in Florence.

95. Giotto, Cimabue's pupil, was the greatest painter of Dante's time, and also a famous architect and sculptor. Dante probably knew him.

97. Guido Cavalcanti, Dante's 'first friend,' still alive in April, 1300, surpassed Guido Guinizelli of Bologna (XXVI, 92), the father of the 'sweet new style.'

La gloria della lingua; e forse è nato
Chi l' uno e l' altro caccerà di nido.
Non è il mondan romore altro che un fiato 100
Di vento, che or vien quinci ed or vien quindi,
E muta nome, perchè muta lato.
Che voce avrai tu più, se vecchia scindi
Da te la carne, che se fossi morto
Innanzi che lasciassi il *pappo* e il *dindi*, 105
Pria che passin mill' anni? Ch' è più corto
Spazio, all' eterno, che un mover di ciglia
Al cerchio che più tardi in cielo è torto.
Colui che del cammin sì poco piglia,
Dinanzi a me, Toscana sonò tutta, 110
Ed ora a pena in Siena sen pispiglia,
Ond' era sire, quando fu distrutta
La rabbia fiorentina, che superba
Fu a quel tempo, sì com' ora è putta.
La vostra nominanza è color d' erba, 115
Che viene e va, e quei la discolora
Per cui ell' esce della terra acerba.'
Ed io a lui: 'Lo tuo ver dir m' incora

99. This conjecture of Oderisi is simply a general deduction from antecedent probability. Dante, however, in writing it, must have known that the reader would immediately apply it to him. Whatever pride is betrayed by the remark belongs to Dante the author, not to Dante the protagonist of the poem.

100. Cf. Boethius, *Cons.*, II, Pr. vii: 'populares auras inanesque rumores.'

103. 'What more repute shalt thou have,' a thousand years hence (l. 106), if thou strippest off thy flesh when it is old' than if thou hadst died young?

105. *Il pappo e il dindi:* baby talk, childish prattle. *Pappo* and *dindi* are childish pronunciations of *pane* and *denaro.*

106. *Che,* 'which,' i. e., a thousand years.

108. 'The circle which is slowest turned,' — the eighth or starry sphere, — moves only one degree in a hundred years: *Conv.*, II, xv, 102–4, 113–8. Cf. *Cons.*, II, Pr. vii.

109. *Colui* is the object of *sonò* in l. 110, *Toscana* the subject.

115. Cf. Isaiah xl, 7: 'The grass withereth, the flower fadeth: because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it: surely the people is grass.'

117. *Acerba,* 'unripe,' green, fresh: it goes with *ella,* i. e., *erba.*

118. *M' incora,* 'puts into my heart.'

Buona umiltà, e gran tumor m' appiani.
Ma chi è quei di cui tu parlavi ora?' 120
'Quegli è,' rispose, 'Provenzan Salvani;
Ed è qui, perchè fu presuntüoso
A recar Siena tutta alle sue mani.
Ito è così, e va senza riposo,
Poi che morì: cotal moneta rende 125
A satisfar chi è di là tropp' oso.'
Ed io: 'Se quello spirito che attende,
Pria che si penta, l' orlo della vita,
Laggiù dimora, e quassù non ascende, —
Se buona orazïon lui non aïta, — 130
Prima che passi tempo quanto visse,
Come fu la venuta a lui largita?'
'Quando vivea più glorïoso,' disse,
'Liberamente nel Campo di Siena,
Ogni vergogna deposta, s' affisse; 135
E lì, per trar l' amico suo di pena
Che sostenea nella prigion di Carlo,
Si condusse a tremar per ogni vena.
Più non dirò, e scuro so che parlo;
Ma poco tempo andrà che i tuoi vicini 140
Faranno sì che tu potrai chiosarlo.
Quest' opera gli tolse quei confini.'

126. *Oso*, 'bold.' *È oso* = *ausus est.*
138. 'He brought himself to quiver in every vein': a forceful picture of the mortification of a haughty spirit. Dante, in the time of his exile, knew this feeling all too well.
142. 'This deed relieved him of those restrictions,' enabled him to enter Purgatory without waiting outside among the 'negligent.'

CANTO XII

ARGUMENT

THE conception of the lifelike carvings on the floor, which, in this canto, furnish the warning illustrations of pride, was manifestly a delight to the artistic soul of the poet. In the very phrasing of his descriptions Dante affects a kind of architectural symmetry: first we have four tiercets beginning each with *Vedea* (ll. 25, 28, 31, 34), then four with *O* (ll. 37, 40, 43, 46), next four with *Mostrava* (ll. 49, 52, 55, 58), and finally one tiercet (ll. 61–3), in which the three lines begin with these same three words. The list of examples presents an alternation of biblical and mythological instances.

Di pari, come buoi che vanno a giogo,
  M' andava io con quella anima carca,
  Fin che il sofferse il dolce pedagogo.
Ma quando disse: 'Lascia lui, e varca,
  Chè qui è buon con la vela e coi remi, 5
  Quantunque può ciascun, pinger sua barca,'
Dritto, sì come andar vuolsi, rife' mi
  Con la persona, avvegna che i pensieri
  Mi rimanessero e chinati e scemi.
Io m' era mosso, e seguia volentieri 10
  Del mio Maestro i passi, ed ambedue
  Già mostravam come eravam leggieri,
Quando mi disse: 'Volgi gli occhi in giue!
  Buon ti sarà, per tranquillar la via,

1. Once more we have an indication that Dante, allegorically, shares in the penance. — Note the regular, plodding movement of this verse.
7. *Sì come andar vuolsi* (= *si vuole*), 'as man should walk.' Dante's penance is ended. — *Rife' mi* = *mi rifeci*.
8. *Avvegna che*, 'although.' — An abiding meekness has resulted from the penance.

Veder lo letto delle piante tue.' 15
Come, perchè di lor memoria sia,
Sopra i sepolti le tombe terragne
Portan segnato quel ch' elli eran pria
(Onde lì molte volte se ne piagne
Per la puntura della rimembranza, 20
Che solo ai pïi dà delle calcagne),
Sì vid' io lì, ma di miglior sembianza
Secondo l' artificio, figurato
Quanto per via difuor dal monte avanza.
Vedea colui che fu nobil creato 25
Più ch' altra creatura, giù dal cielo
Folgoreggiando scender da un lato.
Vedea Brïarëo, fitto dal telo
Celestïal, giacer dall' altra parte,
Grave alla terra per lo mortal gelo. 30
Vedea Timbreo, vedea Pallade e Marte,
Armati ancora, intorno al padre loro,
Mirar le membra de' Giganti sparte.
Vedea Nembrot a piè del gran lavoro,

16. *Perchè di lor memoria sia,* 'to preserve their memory.'
17. *Tombe terragne,* 'underground graves,' covered with flat stones which form a floor.
19. *Se ne piagne,* 'people weep for them.'
21. 'Which spurs only the faithful.'
23. *Secondo l' artificio,* 'in respect to workmanship.'
24. 'All that juts out of the mountain to form a road,' i. e., the whole floor of the terrace.
27. Luke x, 18: 'I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.'
28. Briareus was one of the giants who fought against the gods: cf. *Inf.* XXXI, 98.
30. *Per lo mortal gelo,* 'in the chill of death.'
31. Thymbræus is one of the appellations of Apollo, who had a temple at Thymbra in the Troad: Cf. *Æn.*, III, 85. — The carving represents the bodies of the defeated giants, upon which Apollo, Pallas, Mars, and Jove are gazing. Cf. *Met.*, X, 150–1:

Cecini plectro graviore Gigantas
Sparsaque Phlegræis victricia fulmina campis.

34. For Nimrod, the builder of the tower of Babel in the land of Shinar, see Gen. x, 8–10, and xi, 2–9. Cf. *Inf.* XXXI, 77.

Quasi smarrito, e riguardar le genti 35
Che in Sennaar con lui superbi foro.
O Niobè, con che occhi dolenti
Vedeva io te segnata in sulla strada
Tra sette e sette tuoi figliuoli spenti!
O Saül, come in sulla propria spada 40
Quivi parevi morto in Gelboè,
Che poi non sentì pioggia nè rugiada!
O folle Aragne, sì vedea io te
Già mezza aragna, trista in su gli stracci
Dell' opera che mal per te si fe'. 45
O Roboam, già non par che minacci
Quivi il tuo segno; ma pien di spavento
Nel porta un carro prima che altri il cacci.
Mostrava ancor lo duro pavimento
Come Almëon a sua madre fe' caro 50
Parer lo sventurato adornamento.

37. Niobe, wife of King Amphion of Thebes, proud of her seven sons and seven daughters, presumptuously disparaged Latona, who had only two children, Apollo and Diana. These gods avenged their mother by shooting all of Niobe's offspring; Niobe then turned to stone. See *Met.*, VI, 165–312.

40. Defeated by the Philistines on Mount Gilboa, King Saul threw himself upon a sword and killed himself: 1 Samuel xxxi, 1–6.

42. In his lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, David said (2 Samuel i, 21): 'Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain, upon you.'

43. Arachne, who had challenged Pallas to a trial of skill in weaving, was turned by her into a spider: *Met.*, VI, 5–145.

45. *Fe'* =*fece*. — Ll. 41, 43, 45 are *versi tronchi:* cf. *Inf.* IV, 56.

46. After having threatened to add to the burdens of the people of Israel, 'king Rehoboam sent Adoram, who was over the tribute; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. Therefore king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jerusalem' (1 Kings xii, 18).

48. *Nel* =*ne lo*.

49. Amphiaraus, the soothsayer (*Inf.* XX, 34), to avoid going to the Theban war where he knew he would be killed, hid himself, but was betrayed by his wife Eriphȳle and met his death at Thebes. As Eriphyle had been bribed by an ill-fated golden necklace, Dante chooses to regard her as an example of vanity. She was killed by her son Alcmæon in vengeance for the loss of his father: cf. *Par.* IV, 103–5. See Statius, *Thebaid*, II, 265 ff.; IV, 187 ff.

Mostrava come i figli si gittaro
  Sopra Sennacherib dentro dal tempio,
  E come, morto lui, quivi il lasciaro.
Mostrava la ruïna e il crudo scempio 55
  Che fe' Tamiri, quando disse a Ciro:
  'Sangue sitisti, ed io di sangue t' empio.'
Mostrava come in rotta si fuggiro
  Gli Assiri, poi che fu morto Oloferne,
  Ed anche le reliquie del martiro. 60
Vedëa Troia in cenere e in caverne.
  O Ilïon, come te basso e vile
  Mostrava il segno che lì si discerne!
Qual di pennel fu maestro o di stile
  Che ritraesse l' ombre e i tratti, ch' ivi 65
  Mirar farieno ogn' ingegno sottile?
Morti li morti, e i vivi parean vivi.
  Non vide me' di me chi vide il vero,

52. Sennacherib, the haughty king of the Assyrians, despised the Israelites and their God. 'And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that . . . his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia' (2 Kings xix, 37).

55. Thamÿris (or Tomyris), queen of the Scythians, to avenge the death of her son and the defeat of her army, lured Cyrus, king of Persia, and his 200,000 men into an ambush and destroyed them. She then had Cyrus's head put into a skin full of human blood, and addressed it in terms similar to those cited by Dante: Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos*, II, vii.

58. Judith delivered the Israelites by cutting off the head of the Assyrian king, Holofernes. When his troops heard of his death, 'fear and trembling fell upon them' and 'they fled into every way of the plain, and of the hill country' (Judith xv, 1, 2).

60. By 'the remnants of the killing' is probably meant the headless body of the king. 'Behold Holofernes lieth upon the ground without a head' (Judith xiv, 16).

61. Cf. *Æn.*, III, 2–3:

'Ceciditque superbum
Ilium, et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troja.'

63. *Segno*, 'image.'

67. In an old Venetian version of the Voyage of St. Brendan there are carvings similarly described: F. Novati, *La 'Navigatio Sancti Brendani' in antico veneziano*, 1892, ch. XXXIV.

68. *Me'* =*meglio*.

Quant' io calcai fin che chinato givi.
Or superbite, e via col viso altiero, 70
Figliuoli d' Eva, e non chinate il volto
Sì che veggiate il vostro mal sentiero!
Più era già per noi del monte volto,
E del cammin del sole assai più speso,
Che non stimava l' animo non sciolto, 75
Quando colui, che sempre innanzi atteso
Andava, incominciò: 'Drizza la testa!
Non è più tempo da gir sì sospeso.
Vedi colà un Angel che s' appresta
Per venir verso noi; vedi che torna 80
Dal servigio del dì l' ancella sesta.
Di riverenza gli atti e il viso adorna,
Sì che i diletti lo invïarci in suso!
Pensa che questo dì mai non raggiorna!'
Io era ben del suo ammonir uso, 85
Pur di non perder tempo, sì che in quella
Materia non potea parlarmi chiuso.
A noi venia la crëatura bella
Bianco vestita, e nella faccia quale
Par tremolando mattutina stella. 90
Le braccia aperse, ed indi aperse l' ale;
Disse: 'Venite! Qui son presso i gradi,
Ed agevolemente omai si sale.
A questo annunzio vengon molto radi.

77. Cf. Luke xxi, 28: 'look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh.'
81. The sixth hour of daylight is drawing to a close; it is nearly noon.
82. *Adorna* is imperative.
83. *I* = *gli*, dependent on the verb *diletti*, of which *lo inviarci* is subject.
94. Cf. Mat. vii, 14: 'Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.' We cannot be perfectly sure whether ll. 94, 95, 96 are a part of the angel's speech or a reflection of the poet.

O gente umana, per volar su nata, 95
Perchè a poco vento così cadi?'
Menocci ove la roccia era tagliata.
Quivi mi battèo l' ali per la fronte;
Poi mi promise sicura l' andata.
Come a man destra, per salire al monte 100
Dove siede la Chiesa che soggioga
La ben guidata sopra Rubaconte,
Si rompe del montar l' ardita foga
Per le scalee (che si fero ad etade
Ch' era sicuro il quaderno e la doga), 105
Così s' allenta la ripa che cade
Quivi ben ratta dall' altro girone;
Ma quinci e quindi l' alta pietra rade.
Noi volgendo ivi le nostre persone,
'*Beati pauperes spiritu*,' voci 110
Cantaron sì che nol diria sermone.
Ahi, quanto son diverse quelle foci
Dalle infernali! Chè quivi per canti
S' entra, e laggiù per lamenti feroci.
Già montavam su per li scaglion santi, 115

97. *Menocci* = *ci menò*.
98. *Battèo* = *battè*.
101. 'The church that dominates the well-governed city across the Rubaconte bridge' is San Miniato. *Ben guidata* is of course ironical. The bridge, now called Ponte alle Grazie, was first named after honest Messer Rubaconte da Mandello, who was mayor when it was begun in 1237.
103. *L'ardita foga*, 'the bold sweep.'
105. By way of contrasting the 'age' of Rubaconte with later, degenerate times, Dante here refers to two notorious local scandals of his own day. In 1299 a certain Niccolò Acciaiuoli, to conceal a false entry made in his favor with the connivance of the mayor, tore a leaf out of the municipal record (*quaderno*). A salt commissioner, Durante de' Chiaramontesi, enriched himself by receiving the salt from the commune with an honest measure, and dealing it out with a measure diminished by one stave (*doga*): cf. *Par.* XVI, 105.
108. The flight of steps is so narrow that the wall 'grazes' on either side.
110. Mat. v, 3: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' This beatitude suits those who are leaving pride behind.
112. *Foci*, 'passes.'

Ed esser mi parea troppo più lieve
  Che per lo pian non mi parea davanti.
Ond' io: 'Maestro, di', qual cosa greve
  Levata s' è da me, che nulla quasi
  Per me fatica andando si riceve?' 120
Rispose: 'Quando i *P* che son rimasi
  Ancor nel volto tuo, presso ch' estinti,
  Saranno, come l' un, del tutto rasi,
Fien li tuoi piè dal buon voler sì vinti
  Che non pur non fatica sentiranno, 125
  Ma fia diletto loro esser su pinti.'
Allor fec' io come color che vanno
  Con cosa in capo non da lor saputa,
  Se non che i cenni altrui sospicar fanno;
Per che la mano ad accertar s' aiuta, 130
  E cerca e trova, e quell' officio adempie
  Che non si può fornir per la veduta:
E, con le dita della destra scempie,
  Trovai pur sei le lettere che incise
  Quel dalle chiavi a me sopra le tempie. 135
A che guardando il mio Duca sorrise.

116. *Troppo*, 'far.' — It is now easier for Dante to climb than it has been for him to walk on the level terrace. By the removal of pride, the foundation of all evil, Dante is relieved of the greater part of his other sins. The angel has obliterated the *P* of pride, and the other six letters have thereby become dim (l. 122). See Ecclus. x, 15: 'the beginning of all sin is pride.' Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxxiv, Art. 2.

122. *Presso ch' estinti*, 'almost extinct.'

124. *Fien* = *saranno*.

126. *Pinti* = *spinti*, 'urged.'

129. *Sospicar*, 'suspect': cf. *Inf.* X, 57.

133. *Scempie*, 'spread.' — Cf. the surprise of Cipus when he saw in a spring the reflection of horns on his head (*Met.*, XV, 566–8):

> 'Vidit enim, falsamque in imagine credens
> Esse fidem, digitis ad frontem sæpe relatis
> Quæ vidit, tetigit.'

CANTO XIII

ARGUMENT

To purge ourselves of envy, we must cultivate a spirit of humility and resolutely shut our eyes — agonizing as the effort may be — to all that has beguiled them. The spirits in the second circle, then, sit in a row, meanly clad, like beggars, their eyes sewed up with an iron wire. Falcons that were tamed full-grown used to have their eyes closed in this cruel way. In the *Magnæ Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa the poet had read: '*Invideo tibi*, idest non video tibi, idest non fero videre te bene agentem'; and this definition of envy may have suggested to him the particular form of punishment. Line 57 is probably intended to indicate that, in the mystic (but not the literal) sense, Dante himself is subjected to this discipline; but we learn from lines 133-5 that he merits but a slight penance here, having sinned far less from envy than from pride.

Turning to the right, — as they do on every terrace of Purgatory, — the travellers proceed toward the north, facing the noonday sun, the symbol of enlightenment. Here they find no carvings on wall or pavement: such lessons would have been wasted on the sightless penitents. Instead, the examples of love — the opposite of envy — are called aloud by mysterious voices. The first illustration is drawn, as in the other circles, from the life of the Virgin.

Among the willing sufferers is a certain woman of Siena, who (as she declares), in spite of her name, Sapía, was not wise. In 1269, having passed the age of thirty-five, she was still so full of envy of her fellow-townsmen that when, under the leadership of Provenzano Salvani (XI, 121), they met the Florentines in battle at Colle di Valdelsa, she prayed God that they might be worsted. This, as it proved, was what the Lord had already decreed, for the Sienese were overwhelmingly defeated by a smaller force of Florentines. Thereupon Sapia's exultation was so mad that she did not care what fate God might send her. Only the intercession of one of her countrymen, Pier Pettinagno, — a poor comb-dealer, so honest, pious, and kindly that he was regarded as a saint, — secured for her prompt admission to Purgatory.

Siena and Florence, like other rival cities, had many standing jokes at each other's expense. Dante puts into the mouth of Sapìa, who in life had hated her own people, two of Florence's stock gibes at Siena. This ambitious town aspired to become a maritime power, like Venice and Genoa; in 1303 she succeeded in acquiring a little seaport on the shore of the Tuscan Maremma, called Talamone, and in improving it she spent large sums of money. At one time the Florentines asked for a concession there. Furthermore, Siena, perched on the top of a hill, had difficulty in getting water; it was said that her inhabitants were continually digging to find an underground river, the Diana, which was supposed to flow under the city.

For Sapìa, see *Bull.*, VIII, 131.

Noi eravamo al sommo della scala,
  Ove secondamente si risega
  Lo monte che salendo altrui dismala.
Ivi così una cornice lega
  Dintorno il poggio, come la primaia, 5
  Se non che l' arco suo più tosto piega.
Ombra non gli è, nè segno che si paia;
  Par sì la ripa, e par sì la via schietta
  Col livido color della petraia.
'Se qui per domandar gente s' aspetta,' 10
  Ragionava il Poeta, 'io temo forse
  Che troppo avrà d' indugio nostra eletta.'
Poi fisamente al sole gli occhi porse;
  Fece del destro lato al mover centro,
  E la sinistra parte di sè torse. 15

2. *Si risega*, 'is cut in again,' by the second shelf, which, of course, has a smaller circumference than the first (l. 6).
3. 'The mountain which cures by climbing.'
7. Cf. XII, 65.
9. A 'livid color' is the proper hue of envy: cf. XIV, 84.
12. *Eletta*, 'choice': whether to turn to the right or to the left, as they face the cliff.
13. Cf. I, 107.
15. He turns to the right, wheeling on his right foot. The stronger part of his nature directs the weaker.

'O dolce lume, a cui fidanza i' entro
Per lo nuovo cammin, tu ne conduci,'
Dicea, 'come condur si vuol quinc' entro.
Tu scaldi il mondo, tu sopr' esso luci;
S' altra ragione in contrario non pronta, 20
Esser den sempre li tuoi raggi duci.'
Quanto di qua per un migliaio si conta,
Tanto di là eravam noi già iti,
Con poco tempo, per la voglia pronta.
E verso noi volar furon sentiti, 25
Non però visti, spiriti, parlando
Alla mensa d' amor cortesi inviti.
La prima voce che passò volando
'*Vinum non habent!*' altamente disse,
E retro a noi l' andò reïterando. 30
E prima che del tutto non s' udisse
Per allungarsi, un' altra 'Io sono Oreste!'
Passò gridando, ed anco non s' affisse.
'O,' diss' io, 'Padre, che voci son queste?'
E com' io domandava, ecco la terza 35
Dicendo: 'Amate da cui male aveste!'

20. *Pronta*, 'disposes.' — Unless a higher power ordain otherwise, our own enlightened election should guide us. — Some texts have *cagione* for *ragione*.

21. *Den* = *devono*.

22. *Migliaio*(= *miglio*, 'mile') counts as two syllables: cf. XIV, 66.

29. At the marriage feast in Cana, 'when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine' (John ii, 3); and Jesus turned the water into wine. This speech is cited here as an example of loving solicitude; in XXII, 142–4, it appears again as an example of temperance.

32. When the tyrant Ægisthus had condemned Orestes, whom he did not know by sight, Orestes and his friend Pylades both claimed that name, each wishing to save the other. Cf. Cicero, *De Amicitia*, VII, xxiv. In *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* (a work which Dante repeatedly cites) V, xxii, Cicero tells how excited the audience at the theatre becomes on hearing the words 'I am Orestes' in Pacuvius's tragedy.

36. A condensation of Mat. v, 44: 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.'

E 'l buon Maestro: 'Questo cinghio sferza
La colpa della invidia, e però sono
Tratte d' amor le corde della ferza.
Lo fren vuol esser del contrario suono; 40
Credo che l' udirai, per mio avviso,
Prima che giunghi al passo del perdono.
Ma ficca gli occhi per l' aere ben fiso,
E vedrai gente innanzi a noi sedersi,
E ciascun è lungo la grotta assiso.' 45
Allora più che prima gli occhi apersi;
Guarda'mi innanzi, e vidi ombre con manti
Al color della pietra non diversi.
E poi che fummo un poco più avanti,
Udi' gridar: 'Maria, ora per noi!' 50
Gridar Michele, e Pietro, e tutti i Santi.
Non credo che per terra vada ancoi
Uomo sì duro che non fosse punto
Per compassion di quel ch' io vidi poi:
Chè quand' io fui sì presso di lor giunto 55
Che gli atti loro a me venivan certi,
Per gli occhi fui di grave dolor munto.
Di vil cilicio mi parean coperti,
E l' un sofferia l' altro con la spalla,
E tutti dalla ripa eran sofferti. 60
Così li ciechi, a cui la roba falla,

40. By 'the check' is meant the examples of the sin of 'this belt' — envy.
42. *Giunghi* = *giunga*. — 'The pass of forgiveness' is the beginning of the ascent to the next circle.
48. Cf. l. 9.
51. 'I heard Michael, etc., called upon, invoked.' The souls seem to be repeating the second half of the *Confiteor*: cf. *Romanic Review*, I, 208.
52. *Ancoi*, 'to this day.'
57. 'I was milked of hard pain through my eyes,' i. e., painful tears of sympathy were drawn from my eyes. For the curious figure, cf. *Inf*. XII, 135-6.
61. *A cui la roba falla*, 'who lack sustenance': cf. *Inf*. XXIV, 7. For *falla* cf. *Purg*. X, 129.

Stanno ai perdoni a chieder lor bisogna,
E l' uno il capo sopra l' altro avvalla,
Perchè in altrui pietà tosto si pogna,
Non pur per lo sonar delle parole, 65
Ma per la vista che non meno agogna.
E come agli orbi non approda il sole,
Così all' ombre, là 'v' io parlav' ora,
Luce del ciel di sè largir non vuole;
Chè a tutte un fil di ferro il ciglio fora 70
E cuce sì, come a sparvier selvaggio
Si fa, però che queto non dimora.
A me pareva andando fare oltraggio,
Veggendo altrui, non essendo veduto;
Perch' io mi volsi al mio consiglio saggio. 75
Ben sapev' ei che volea dir lo muto;
E però non attese mia domanda,
Ma disse: 'Parla, e sii breve ed arguto.'
Virgilio mi venia da quella banda
Della cornice onde cader si puote, 80
Perchè da nulla sponda s' inghirlanda;
Dall' altra parte m' eran le devote
Ombre, che per l' orribile costura
Premevan sì che bagnavan le gote.
Volsimi a loro, ed: 'O gente sicura,' 85

62. On the 'pardon' days of various churches, pilgrims come in crowds for indulgences, and beggars collect at the doors.
63. *Avvalla*, 'sinks.'
64. *Pogna* = *ponga:* cf. XVI, 123; *Par.* VIII, 81.
66. *Agogna*, 'craves': cf. *Inf.* VI, 28.
67. *Approda*, 'profits': cf. *Inf.* XXI, 78.
73. This delicate scruple reveals a fineness of feeling, an instinctive gentleness, that contrasts strangely with Dante's sterner moods.
78. *Arguto*, 'to the point.'
81. The outer 'side of the shelf' is 'wreathed with no rim,' i. e., has no parapet. Cf. *Inf.* XIV, 10.
82. Virgil is on Dante's right; on his left, against the wall, are the 'devout shades.'
85. Dante begins with words of good cheer.

Incominciai, 'di veder l' alto lume
Che il disio vostro solo ha in sua cura,
Se tosto grazia risolva le schiume
Di vostra coscïenza, sì che chiaro
Per essa scenda della mente il fiume, 90
Ditemi (chè mi fia grazioso e caro)
S' anima è qui tra voi che sia latina;
E forse a lei sarà buon, s' io l' apparo.'
'O frate mio, ciascuna è cittadina
D' una vera città; ma tu vuoi dire, 95
Che vivesse in Italia peregrina.'
Questo mi parve per risposta udire
Più là alquanto che là dov' io stava;
Ond' io mi feci ancor più là sentire.
Tra l' altre vidi un' ombra che aspettava 100
In vista; e se volesse alcun dir: 'Come?'
Lo mento, a guisa d' orbo, in su levava.
'Spirto,' diss' io, 'che per salir ti dome,
Se tu se' quelli che mi rispondesti,
Fammiti conto o per loco o per nome.' 105
'I' fui Sanese,' rispose, 'e con questi
Altri rimondo qui la vita ria,
Lagrimando a colui, che sè ne presti.

88. The hortative *se: Inf.* X, 82; *Purg.* II, 16.
90. 'So that the river of memory may flow down through it undefiled': so that the conscience shall retain no recollection of sin.
93. *Apparo =imparo:* cf. Canzone XVI, 25.
94. Ephesians ii, 19: 'Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.'
96. *Peregrina:* cf. II, 63.
100, 101. *Aspettava in vista,* 'looked expectant.'
102. If anyone should ask me how it showed its expectancy, I should reply that 'it was lifting up its chin like a blind man.'
103. *Dome =domi.*
105. *Conto,* 'known': cf. *Inf.* III, 76.
107. *Rimondo,* 'I am making clean again.'
108. *Che sè ne presti,* 'that he (God) may lend himself to us.'

Savia non fui, avvegna che Sapia
  Fossi chiamata, e fui degli altrui danni   110
  Più lieta assai che di ventura mia.
E perchè tu non credi ch' io t' inganni,
  Odi se fui, com' io ti dico, folle,
  Già discendendo l' arco de' miei anni.
Eran li cittadin miei presso a Colle   115
  In campo giunti coi loro avversari,
  Ed io pregava Iddio di quel ch' ei volle.
Rotti fur quivi, e volti negli amari
  Passi di fuga; e, veggendo la caccia,
  Letizia presi a tutte altre dispari —   120
Tanto ch' io volsi in su l' ardita faccia,
  Gridando a Dio: "Omai più non ti temo!"
  Come fa il merlo per poca bonaccia.
Pace volli con Dio in su lo stremo
  Della mia vita; ed ancor non sarebbe   125
  Lo mio dover per penitenza scemo,
Se ciò non fosse che a memoria m' ebbe
  Pier Pettinagno in sue sante orazioni,
  A cui di me per caritate increbbe.
Ma tu chi se', che nostre condizioni   130
  Vai domandando, e porti gli occhi sciolti,
  Sì come io credo, e spirando ragioni?'
'Gli occhi,' diss' io, 'mi fieno ancor qui tolti;
  Ma picciol tempo, chè poca è l' offesa
  Fatta per esser con invidia volti.   135

112. *Credi* = *creda*.

123. This characteristic of the blackbird was probably known from general observation: see Sacchetti, *Novelle*, CXLIX; also T. Gautier, *Le merle*. The variant reading *fe'* for *fa* has led some to see in the line a reference to a popular fable, but no such fable has been found: see Ida Luisi in *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 109.

126. *Dover*, 'due': cf. X, 92.

133. Dante's 'eyes shall be taken' from him, in the literal sense of the poem, when he shall return to this circle after death.

Troppa è più la paura, ond' è sospesa
  L' anima mia, del tormento di sotto,
  Chè già lo incarco di laggiù mi pesa.'
Ed ella a me: 'Chi t' ha dunque condotto
  Quassù tra noi, se giù ritornar credi?' 140
  Ed io: 'Costui ch' è meco, e non fa motto.
E vivo sono; e però mi richiedi,
  Spirito eletto, se tu vuoi ch' io mova
  Di là per te ancor li mortai piedi.'
'O questa è ad udir sì cosa nuova,' 145
  Rispose, 'che gran segno è che Dio t' ami;
  Però col prego tuo talor mi giova.
E chieggioti per quel che tu più brami,
  Se mai calchi la terra di Toscana,
  Che a' miei propinqui tu ben mi rinfami. 150
Tu li vedrai tra quella gente vana
  Che spera in Talamone, e perderagli
  Più di speranza che a trovar la Diana;
Ma più vi metteranno gli ammiragli.'

138. 'The load' of the circle of pride 'already weighs' upon Dante.
144. *Mortai* = *mortali*.
148. *Chieggioti* = *ti chiedo*.
150. *Mi rinfami*, 'restore my good fame.'
151. Cf. *Inf.* XXIX, 122.
152. *Perderagli* = *vi perderà*.
154. The meaning seems to be: 'But those who shall spend, or waste, most upon Talamone shall be those who expect to be admirals,' to command the non-existent Sienese fleet.

CANTO XIV

ARGUMENT

There is an uncanny realism in the discussion of Dante by two blind spirits from Romagna; the poet is standing close beside them, but in their sightlessness they converse about him as if he were miles away. One of the speakers is Guido del Duca, a gentleman of Bertinoro, probably a Guelf, who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. The other is the Guelf Rinieri (or Ranieri) of the powerful family of the lords of Cálboli, a stronghold near Rocca San Casciano in the valley of the Montone; prominent in peace and war, he was mayor of various cities, was defeated by Guido da Montefeltro (*Inf.* XXVII) in 1276, and was killed at Forlì in 1296.

Questioned by the penitents, Dante modestly withholds — as in the *Vita Nuova* — not only his own name but that of his city and that of the river Arno. This reticence leads to a description of the stream and a satirical picture of the dwellers on its banks. The passage falls into three parts of twelve lines each. First comes a general introductory portrayal of the river and of the Tuscans, who 'avoid virtue as if it were a snake' and resemble those unhappy men whom the enchantress Circe had turned into beasts. Next we have four tiercets devoted to the inhabitants of the Casentino, Arezzo, Florence, and Pisa, who are likened respectively to swine, curs, wolves, and foxes. The mountainous Casentino, on the upper Arno, was, in fact, a pig-raising country, and the stream near its source flows by a hill called Porciano; in at least one of his lyrics (Canzone XI, 67–70) Dante complains of the rudeness of its people. The Aretines — those 'curs who snarl more than their strength warrants' — were described in nearly the same terms by Sacchetti in a letter to R. Gianfigliazzi, captain of Arezzo (Tor., 437). The greed of the Florentines and the cunning of the Pisans made the wolf and the fox their proper symbols. The general suggestion of the beast-names came, no doubt, from Boethius (*Cons.*, IV, Pr. iii). Following this characterization, the closing twelve lines of the passage contain a prophecy of the slaughter of the Florentine wolves by a bloodthirsty nephew of Rinieri da Calboli.

For Guido del Duca, see F. Torraca in *Nuova Antologia*, XLVII, 5; cf. *Bull.*, X, 329. For Rinieri da Calboli: Tor., 439. For the story of Circe: *Met.*, XIV, 248–307; *Æn.*, VII, 10–20. For a discussion of the passage in Boethius: *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 2; R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905, 384.

'Chi è costui che il nostro monte cerchia
Prima che morte gli abbia dato il volo,
Ed apre gli occhi a sua voglia e coperchia?'
'Non so chi sia; ma so ch' ei non è solo.
Domandal tu che più gli t' avvicini, 5
E dolcemente, sì che parli, acco' lo.'
Così due spirti, l' uno all' altro chini,
Ragionavan di me ivi a man dritta;
Poi fer li visi, per dirmi, supini,
E disse l' uno: 'O anima, che fitta 10
Nel corpo ancora in ver lo ciel ten vai,
Per carità ne consola, e ne ditta
Onde vieni, e chi sei; chè tu ne fai
Tanto maravigliar della tua grazia
Quanto vuol cosa che non fu più mai.' 15
Ed io: 'Per mezza Toscana si spazia
Un fiumicel che nasce in Falterona,
E cento miglia di corso nol sazia.
Di sopr' esso rech' io questa persona.
Dirvi chi io sia, saria parlare indarno; 20
Chè il nome mio ancor molto non suona.'
'Se ben lo intendimento tuo accarno
Con lo intelletto,' allora mi rispose

5. *Domandal* = *domandalo*.
6. *Acco'* = *accogli:* cf. *Inf.* XVIII, 18.
9. *Fer* = *fecero*. 'Then they made their faces level (threw back their heads) to speak to me.'
10. 'The one' is Guido del Duca.
15. *Vuol*, 'demands.' *Cosa* is the subject.
17. *Falterona:* one of the highest mountains in the Tuscan Apennines.
22. *Accarno*, 'seize.'

Quei che diceva pria, 'tu parli d' Arno.'
E l' altro disse a lui: 'Perchè nascose 25
Questi il vocabol di quella riviera,
Pur com' uom fa dell' orribili cose?'
E l' ombra che di ciò domandata era
Si sdebitò così: 'Non so, ma degno
Ben è che il nome di tal valle pera; 30
Chè dal principio suo (dov' è sì pregno
L' alpestro monte, ond' è tronco Peloro,
Che in pochi lochi passa oltra quel segno)
Infin là 've si rende per ristoro
Di quel che il ciel della marina asciuga, 35
Ond' hanno i fiumi ciò che va con loro,
Virtù così per nimica si fuga
Da tutti come biscia, o per sventura
Del loco o per mal uso che li fruga;
Ond' hanno sì mutata lor natura 40
Gli abitator della misera valle
Che par che Circe gli avesse in pastura.

25. 'The other' is Rinieri da Calboli.
29. *Si sdebitò*, 'paid its scot,' i. e., answered.
30. The valley is the Valdarno. — Cf. Job xviii, 17: 'His remembrance shall perish from the earth.'
31. Its 'source' is in the Falterona, which was regarded also as the source of the Tiber. — *Pregno*, 'teeming,' abundant in water. Cf. *Phars.*, II, 399, 403:

'mons inter geminas medius se porrigit undas.'
. . . .
'Fontibus hic vastis immensos *concipit* amnes.'

32. 'The Alpine range from which Pelorus is severed' means the Apennine chain, of which Pelorus, at the eastern end of Sicily, is the continuation. Cf. *Phars.*, II, 438: 'Extremi colles Siculo cessere Peloro.'
33. 'That it is more so (i. e., more teeming) in but few places.' *Passa oltra quel segno*, 'it passes that mark,' i. e., 'it exceeds.' Only a few of the Apennine peaks are wetter than Falterona.
34. Down to its mouth, 'where it (the Arno) gives itself up to replace' the water that evaporates from the sea.
36. 'What goes with them' is their supply of water.
37. All along the Arno, from source to mouth, 'virtue is shunned.'
39. *Fruga*, 'goads,' incites: cf. III, 3.

Tra brutti porci, più degni di galle
  Che d' altro cibo fatto in uman uso,
  Dirizza prima il suo povero calle. 45
Botoli trova poi, venendo giuso,
  Ringhiosi più che non chiede lor possa,
  Ed a lor, disdegnosa, torce il muso.
Vassi cadendo, e quanto ella più ingrossa
  Tanto più trova di can farsi lupi 50
  La maledetta e sventurata fossa.
Discesa poi per più pelaghi cupi,
  Trova le volpi, sì piene di froda
  Che non temono ingegno che le occupi.
Nè lascerò di dir, perch' altri m' oda; 55
  E buon sarà a costui, se ancor s' ammenta
  Di ciò che vero spirto mi disnoda.
Io veggio tuo nipote, che diventa
  Cacciator di quei lupi in sulla riva
  Del fiero fiume, e tutti gli sgomenta. 60
Vende la carne loro, essendo viva;
  Poscia gli ancide come antica belva.
  Molti di vita, e sè di pregio priva.

45. Down to Romena the Arno is nothing but a brook.
48. *Torce il muso*, 'turns away its snout.' The Arno, which descends south through the Casentino and then flows eastward toward Arezzo, suddenly turns off to the west when it has come within three miles of that city.
49. *Vassi* = *si va*. The subject of the verbs in this tiercet is *fossa*, at the end of l. 51.
52. *Pelaghi cupi*, 'hollow (i. e., deep) pools.'
54. *Ingegno che le occupi*, 'trap to catch them.'
57. *Disnoda*, 'unties,' i. e., reveals.
58. The nephew of Rinieri, Folcieri da Calboli, while mayor of Florence in 1303, had many White Guelf and Ghibelline citizens tortured and put to death on accusations of treason. He was mayor again in 1312.
62. 'Then he kills them like old cattle,' or, possibly, 'like beasts of old' (of Circe's time). The word *belva*, which properly means 'wild animal,' seems to have been suggested by the passage in *Cons*., IV, Pr. iii: cf. *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 3. It may be noted that in *Purg*. VI, 94, Dante uses the noun *fiera* for a horse.

Sanguinoso esce della trista selva;
  Lasciala tal che di qui a mill' anni 65
  Nello stato primaio non si rinselva.'
Come all' annunzio de' dogliosi danni
  Si turba il viso di colui che ascolta,
  Da qualche parte il periglio lo assanni,
Così vid' io l' altr' anima, che volta 70
  Stava ad udir, turbarsi e farsi trista,
  Poi ch' ebbe la parola a sè raccolta.
Lo dir dell' una, e dell' altra la vista,
  Mi fe' voglioso di saper lor nomi,
  E domanda ne fei con preghi mista. 75
Per che lo spirto che di pria parlòmi
  Ricominciò: 'Tu vuoi ch' io mi deduca
  Nel fare a te ciò, che tu far non vuo' mi.
Ma da che Dio in te vuol che traluca
  Tanta sua grazia, non ti sarò scarso: 80
  Però sappi ch' io son Guido del Duca.
Fu il sangue mio d' invidia sì riarso
  Che, se veduto avessi uom farsi lieto,
  Visto m' avresti di livore sparso.
Di mia semente cotal paglia mieto. 85
  O gente umana, perchè poni il core
  Là 'v' è mestier di consorto divieto?

66. *Primaio* counts as two syllables: cf. *migliaio* in XIII, 22. — *Non si rinselva*, 'it shall not be reforested': cf. VII, 96.

69. *Qualche*, 'whatsoever.' — *Assanni*, 'nips.'

76. *Parlòmi* = *parlommi*, i. e., *mi parlò:* for the imperfect rhyme, see *Inf.* VIII, 17.

77. *Mi deduca*, 'condescend.'

78. *Vuo' mi* = *mi vuoi*. — Dante has avoided giving his name: ll. 20, 21.

85. *Semente*, 'sowing.' Cf. Galatians vi, 7: 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.'

87. 'In that quarter where there must needs be exclusion of sharing': upon earthly possessions, in which there can be no sharing, because no two men can own the same thing. In the next Canto, ll. 44–5, Dante asks for an explanation of this difficult phrase. Cf. *Cons.*, II, Pr. v: 'vestræ vero divitiæ nisi comminutæ in plures transire non possunt.'

Questi è Rinier; quest' è il pregio e l' onore
  Della casa da Calboli, ove nullo
  Fatto s' è reda poi del suo valore. 90
E non pur lo suo sangue è fatto brullo —
  Tra il Po e il monte e la marina e il Reno —
  Del ben richiesto al vero ed al trastullo;
Chè dentro a questi termini è ripieno
  Di venenosi sterpi, sì che tardi 95
  Per coltivare omai verrebber meno.
Ov' è il buon Lizio, ed Arrigo Mainardi,
  Pier Traversaro, e Guido di Carpigna?
  O Romagnoli tornati in bastardi!
Quando in Bologna un Fabbro si ralligna? 100
  Quando in Faenza un Bernardin di Fosco,
  Verga gentil di picciola gramigna?
Non ti maravigliar, s' io piango, Tosco,
  Quando rimembro con Guido da Prata
  Ugolin d' Azzo, che vivette nosco, 105
Federico Tignoso e sua brigata,
  La casa Traversara e gli Anastagi
  (E l' una gente e l' altra è diredata),

90. *Reda* = *erede*.
91. His is not the only family in Romagna that has become 'bare' (cf. *Inf.* XVI, 30; XXXIV, 60), i. e., destitute, of goodness.
92. Romagna is bounded on the north by the Po, on the south by the Apennines, on the east by the Adriatic, on the west by the river Reno.
93. 'Of the goodness requisite for earnest and pastime.'
94. *È* is impersonal: cf. X, 79; XXI, 43.
96. *Per*, 'through.'
97–107. In these lines are enumerated sundry noble and famous citizens and houses of Romagna in the 12th and 13th centuries. For Dante, Romagna included Bologna.
100. *Si ralligna*, 'shall take root': carrying out the figure begun in ll. 95–6 and continued in l. 102.
102. 'Noble scion of a tiny creeper.' Unlike the others mentioned, he was of lowly birth, and rose to importance by his merit alone. In 1249 he was mayor of Siena and Pisa.
108. *Diredata*, 'without heirs.'

Le donne e i cavalier, gli affanni e gli agi
Che ne invogliava amore e cortesia, 110
Là dove i cor son fatti sì malvagi.
O Brettinoro, chè non fuggi via,
Poichè gita se n' è la tua famiglia
E molta gente, per non esser ria?
Ben fa Bagnacaval che non rifiglia, 115
E mal fa Castrocaro, e peggio Conio,
Che di figliar tai Conti più s' impiglia.
Ben faranno i Pagan, dacchè il Demonio
Lor sen girà; ma non però che puro
Giammai rimanga d' essi testimonio. 120
O Ugolin de' Fantolin, sicuro
È il nome tuo, da che più non s' aspetta
Chi far lo possa tralignando oscuro.
Ma va via, Tosco, omai, ch' or mi diletta
Troppo di pianger più che di parlare, 125
Sì m' ha nostra ragion la mente stretta.'

110. 'Which love and courtesy made dear to us.'

112. *Brettinoro* (now Bertinoro), a little town between Forlì and Cesena, was the birthplace of Guido del Duca. The family of the counts of Bertinoro died out in 1177. They and others who have departed are represented as having left the world to avoid the contamination of modern life.

115. *Non rifiglia,* 'gets no sons.' — Bagnacavallo is a little place near Ravenna. Its counts left no male heirs after Dante's generation. Among the heiresses was the wife of Guido da Polenta, Dante's host in Ravenna.

117. *S' impiglia,* 'takes the trouble.' — The counts of Castrocaro (near Forlì) and Cunio (near Imola) were very numerous in 1300. — The good pass away and the wicked multiply.

118. 'The Pagani,' a noble family of Faenza, 'will do well' to get no more sons, 'when their demon,' Maghinardo di Susina (*Inf.* XXVII, 49–51), shall have died. Maghinardo, the head of the family, died in 1302, leaving two daughters and a grandson.

119, 120. But they will not do so well as ever to leave 'clean witness of themselves,' i. e., an undefiled reputation. To do that, they should have died out before Maghinardo came.

121. Ugolino was a worthy gentleman of Faenza, who died in 1278. His two sons died not many years later, and the inheritance fell to his daughters.

123. *Tralignando,* 'by degenerating.'

126. *Ragion,* 'discourse.' — *Stretta,* 'wrung.'

Noi sapevam che quell' anime care
  Ci sentivano andar; però tacendo
  Facevan noi del cammin confidare.
Poi fummo fatti soli procedendo, 130
  Folgore parve, quando l' aere fende,
  Voce che giunse d' incontra, dicendo:
'Anciderammi qualunque m' apprende!'
  E fuggì, come tuon che si dilegua,
  Se subito la nuvola scoscende. 135
Come da lei l' udir nostro ebbe tregua,
  Ed ecco l' altra con sì gran fracasso
  Che somigliò tuonar che tosto segua:
'Io sono Aglauro, che divenni sasso.'
  Ed allor, per ristringermi al Poeta, 140
  Indietro feci e non innanzi il passo.
Già era l' aura d' ogni parte queta,
  Ed ei mi disse: 'Quel fu il duro camo
  Che dovria l' uom tener dentro a sua meta.
Ma voi prendete l' esca, sì che l' amo 145
  Dell' antico avversario a sè vi tira;
  E però poco val freno o richiamo.

129. We knew that if the 'dear souls' had heard us taking the wrong way, they would have warned us.
130. *Poi = poichè*. — When we had left them behind.
133. The first of the examples of envy, proclaimed by spirit voices, is that of Cain: 'every one that findeth me shall slay me' (Gen. iv, 14).
135. *Scoscende*, 'splits.'
136. 'When our hearing had respite from it (*voce*, l. 132).'
137. *Altra*, 'second,' sc., *voce*.
139. The princess Aglauros, of Athens, envious of her sister Herse, who was loved by Mercury, tried to prevent the god from reaching her, and was turned into a statue. Cf. *Met.*, II, 708 ff.
143. Ps. xxxii (Vulg. xxxi), 9: 'whose mouth must be held in with bit (*camo*) and bridle (*freno*)'; quoted in part in *Mon.*, III, xvi, 74.
145. *Voi:* men in general. — Cf. Eccles. ix, 12: 'sicut pisces capiuntur hamo'; in the English version, 'as the fishes that are taken in an evil net.'
147. *Richiamo*, 'lure': cf. *Inf.* III, 117.

Chiamavi il cielo, e intorno vi si gira,
Mostrandovi le sue bellezze eterne,
E l' occhio vostro pure a terra mira; 150
Onde vi batte chi tutto discerne.'

151. 'He who sees all' is God: cf. 2 Macc. ix, 5.

CANTO XV

ARGUMENT

The most important feature of this canto is a discussion — adroitly introduced in explanation of an obscure phrase — of the difference between spiritual and temporal possessions. In earthly property there can be no companionship, because what one man has another must lack. Not so with heavenly goods, knowledge and love, which all can possess together. God's love is poured out in proportion to the readiness of each soul to accept it, and upon every one of the blest is lavished all the love that it is capable of receiving. The divine love runs to meet the aspiring human affection, and, uniting with it, doubles its ardor and its joy. The more happy spirits there are in Paradise, the greater is the sum total of divine love bestowed; and, — inasmuch as every soul receives love, not only from God directly, but from all its fellows as well, — the greater is the share of each participant.

This doctrine is expounded by Virgil while the two poets are climbing up the stairway from the second terrace to the third. In the circle of wrath the punishment consists of a blinding, suffocating cloud of smoke, which rolls along the path, enveloping the penitents — a symbol of the energetic stifling of angry passion. In this discipline Dante evidently shares.

At the foot of the steps, before their ascent, the travellers are met by an angel so shining that Dante's mortal eyes are blinded. At first he imagines that he is dazzled by the sun, which is directly in front, half way between the meridian and the horizon; but when he shades his brows with his hands, the blaze is in no wise diminished. Then it seems to him that the brightness, from which his arched hands cannot shield him, must be a reflection of the sunbeam from some pool before him. A ray descending at a slant of 45 degrees to a mirror on the ground would be refracted up into his eyes at the same angle. Not until Virgil tells him the truth is he aware of the presence of the heavenly guardian; and he does not note the removal of the *P* from his forehead. He has been saved from envy not so much by conscious renunciation of worldly things as by unconscious contemplation of the divine.

C. E. Norton, in *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Purgatory*, 1902, p. 114, cites some appropriate passages from Milton, Shelley, and Emerson.

Quanto, tra l' ultimar dell' ora terza
  E il principio del dì, par della spera
  Che sempre a guisa di fanciullo scherza,
Tanto pareva già in ver la sera
  Essere al sol del suo corso rimaso: 5
  Vespero là, e qui mezza notte era.
E i raggi ne ferian per mezzo il naso,
  Perchè per noi girato era sì il monte
  Che già dritti andavamo in ver l' occaso,
Quand' io senti' a me gravar la fronte 10
  Allo splendore assai più che di prima,
  E stupor m' eran le cose non conte.
Ond' io levai le mani in ver la cima
  Delle mie ciglia, e fecimi il solecchio,
  Che del soperchio visibile lima. 15
Come quando dall' acqua o dallo specchio
  Salta lo raggio all' opposita parte,

1, 2. 'As much of the ecliptic as is visible (*par*, l. 2) between the end of the third hour (9 A. M.) and the beginning of day (6 A. M.).' Between dawn and mid-morning there is a difference of three hours, or 45°.

2, 3. 'The circle that is always playing like a child' is probably the ecliptic (the sun's annual revolution through the sky), which dodges now to one side, now to the other, of the equator: cf. IV, 63. See *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 108.

4, 5. 'So much (45°) of the sun's course seemed to be left on the evening side': the sun still had 45° to descend. It was three hours before sunset, or mid-afternoon; the sun was therefore in the northwest.

6. 'Vespers,' as Dante uses it, means the last of the four canonical divisions of the day, i. e., from 3 to 6 P. M.: cf. III, 25; *Conv.*, IV, xxiii, 156. 'It was the beginning of vespers there, in Purgatory; here, in Italy (where I am writing), it was midnight.' The time of Italy is three hours earlier than that of Jerusalem. It was 3 P. M. in Purgatory, 3 A. M. in Jerusalem, midnight in Italy.

9. The poets, who climbed up the east side of the mountain as far as the first shelf, and walked to the right (or north) on each terrace, are now on the north-east side, facing the declining sun in the northwest.

10. An excessively bright light produces on the beholder an impression of heaviness over the eyes.

12. *Conte*, 'known': cf. XIII, 105.

15. A shade, or visor, 'files down the excess of visibility,' i. e., reduces the excess of visible light.

17. *Raggio*, 'sunbeam.' A ray of light, falling on a horizontal surface of glass or water, is refracted upward at the angle at which it descends, but 'in the opposite direction.'

Salendo su per lo modo parecchio
A quel che scende, e tanto si diparte
Dal cader della pietra in egual tratta, — 20
Sì come mostra esperïenza ed arte, —
Così mi parve da luce rifratta
Ivi dinanzi a me esser percosso,
Per che a fuggir la mia vista fu ratta.
'Che è quel, dolce Padre, a che non posso 25
Schermar lo viso tanto che mi vaglia,'
Diss' io, 'e pare in ver noi esser mosso?'
'Non ti maravigliar, se ancor t' abbaglia
La famiglia del cielo,' a me rispose;
'Messo è, che viene ad invitar ch' uom saglia. 30
Tosto sarà che a veder queste cose
Non ti fia grave, ma fiati diletto
Quanto natura a sentir ti dispose.'
Poi giunti fummo all' Angel benedetto,
Con lieta voce disse: 'Entrate quinci!' 35
Ad un scaleo vie men che gli altri eretto
Noi montavam, già partiti da linci,
E *Beati misericordes* fue
Cantato retro, e: 'Godi tu che vinci!'
Lo mio Maestro ed io soli ambedue 40
Suso andavamo, ed io pensai, andando,

18. *Parecchio*, 'same.'
20. *Cader della pietra*, 'plumb line.' — *Tratta*, 'distance.' — The angle of refraction is equal to the angle of incidence.
21. *Esperienza ed arte*, 'experiment and science.'
33. *Quanto*, 'as great as.'
36. *Scaleo* = *scala*. — *Vie*, 'far.' — Dante, in this case, omits mention of the obliteration of one of the letters from his forehead.
38. Mat. v, 7: 'Blessed are the merciful.' Mercy (*caritas*) is here regarded as the opposite of envy: cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xxxvi, Art. 3.
39. Cf. Mat. v, 12: 'Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven.' Also Rev. ii, 7: 'To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life.'

Prode acquistar nelle parole sue;
E dirizza' mi a lui sì domandando:
'Che volle dir lo spirto di Romagna,
E "divieto" e "consorto" menzionando?' 45
Per ch' egli a me: 'Di sua maggior magagna
Conosce il danno; e però non s' ammiri
Se ne riprende perchè men sen piagna.
Perchè s' appuntan li vostri disiri
Dove per compagnia parte si scema, 50
Invidia move il mantaco ai sospiri.
Ma se l' amor della spera suprema
Torcesse in suso il desiderio vostro,
Non vi sarebbe al petto quella tema.
Chè per quanti si dice più lì "nostro," 55
Tanto possiede più di ben ciascuno,
E più di caritate arde in quel chiostro.'
'Io son d' esser contento più digiuno,'
Diss' io, 'che se mi fossi pria taciuto,
E più di dubbio nella mente aduno. 60
Com' esser puote che un ben distributo
I più posseditor faccia più ricchi
Di sè che se da pochi è posseduto?'

42. *Prode*, 'profit': from Virgil's teaching.
45. The words of Guido del Duca in XIV, 87.
47. *Non s' ammiri*, 'it is not surprising.'
48. *Ne riprende*, 'he rebukes (men) for it': in order that men may have less cause to mourn for it.
49. *Perchè*, 'inasmuch as.' — *S' appuntan*, 'concentrate.'
50. 'Upon things in which the portion is diminished by sharing.'
52. 'The highest sphere' is the Empyrean, the abode of God, the angels, and the blest.
54. *Tema:* the 'fear' of sharing.
55. 'For there (in the Empyrean), the more there are to say "our,"' i. e., the more sharers there are. Cf. St. Gregory, *Moralia*, IV, xxxi.
58. *Più digiuno* (*di*), 'more empty of,' i. e., further from: cf. *Inf.* XVIII, 42; XXVIII, 87.
60. *Aduno*, 'I collect': cf. *Inf.* VII, 52.

Ed egli a me: 'Perocchè tu rificchi
La mente pure alle cose terrene, 65
Di vera luce tenebre dispicchi.
Quello infinito ed ineffabil bene
Che è lassù, così corre ad amore
Come a lucido corpo raggio viene.
Tanto si dà, quanto trova d' ardore; 70
Sì che quantunque carità si estende,
Cresce sopr' essa l' eterno valore.
E quanta gente più lassù s' intende,
Più v' è da bene amare, e più vi s' ama,
E come specchio l' uno all' altro rende. 75
E se la mia ragion non ti disfama,
Vedrai Beatrice, ed ella pienamente
Ti torrà questa e ciascun' altra brama.
Procaccia pur che tosto sieno spente,
Come son già le due, le cinque piaghe, 80
Che si richiudon per esser dolente.'
Com' io voleva dicer: 'Tu m' appaghe,'
Vidimi giunto in sull' altro girone,
Sì che tacer mi fer le luci vaghe.
Ivi mi parve in una visïone 85

64. *Tu rificchi*, 'thou dost still fix.'
69. Naturally bright objects were thought to attract the sun's rays: see *Conv.*, III, xiv, 21-8. Cf. Guido Guinizelli, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore*, 11-14.
72. 'The eternal goodness is grafted upon it.' God's blessing corresponds to the affection of the loving soul, and is added to it.
73. *S' intende*, 'are affectionate.'
74. 'The more there are deserving of love, and the more love there is.'
76. *Disfama*, 'appeases': cf. l. 58. The use of *disfamare* for 'satisfy' was not uncommon.
81. 'Which are healed by being painful.'
82. *Appaghe* = *appaghi*.
84. *Fer* = *fecero*. — *Le luci vaghe*, 'my eager eyes.'
85. The examples of gentleness — the opposite of wrath — appear as 'ecstatic visions.'

Estatica di subito esser tratto,
E vedere in un tempio più persone,
Ed una donna in sull' entrar con atto
Dolce di madre, dicer: 'Figliuol mio,
Perchè hai tu così verso noi fatto? 90
Ecco, dolenti, lo tuo padre ed io
Ti cercavamo.' E come qui si tacque,
Ciò che pareva prima disparìo.
Indi m' apparve un' altra, con quelle acque,
Giù per le gote, che il dolor distilla, 95
Quando di gran dispetto in altrui nacque;
E dir: 'Se tu se' sire della villa
Del cui nome ne' Dei fu tanta lite,
Ed onde ogni scïenza disfavilla,
Vendica te di quelle braccia ardite 100
Che abbracciar nostra figlia, o Pisistrato!'
E il signor mi parea, benigno e mite,
Risponder lei con viso temperato:
'Che farem noi a chi mal ne disira,
Se quei che ci ama è per noi condannato?' 105
Poi vidi genti accese in foco d' ira
Con pietre un giovinetto ancider, forte

86. The first vision represents the infant Jesus, who, after three days' absence, is found in the temple disputing with the doctors. See Luke ii, 42–50.
88. *Una donna:* Mary. Cf. Luke ii, 48: 'and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing.'
93. *Disparìo = disparì.*
94. *Altra:* sc., *donna.* This is the wife of Pisistratus, ruler of Athens, enraged because a young man has dared to embrace their daughter, with whom he is in love. Cf. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia,* V, i, Ext. 2.
96. *Altrui,* 'one.'
97. *Villa,* 'city': Athens.
98. The contest between Neptune and Minerva (as to which should name the city) and the victory of Minerva are told in *Met.,* VI., 70–82.
101. *Abbracciar = abbracciarono.*
105. *Per,* 'by.'
107. For the stoning of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, see Acts vii, 54–60. From early times Stephen was always pictured as a youth.

Gridando a sè pur: 'Martira, martira!'
E lui vedea chinarsi per la morte,
Che l' aggravava già, in ver la terra; 110
Ma degli occhi facea sempre al ciel porte,
Orando all' alto Sire, in tanta guerra,
Che perdonasse a' suoi persecutori,
Con quell' aspetto che pietà disserra.
Quando l' anima mia tornò di fuori 115
Alle cose che son fuor di lei vere,
Io riconobbi i miei non falsi errori.
Lo Duca mio, che mi potea vedere
Far sì com' uom che dal sonno si slega,
Disse: 'Che hai, che non ti puoi tenere, 120
Ma se' venuto più che mezza lega
Velando gli occhi, e con le gambe avvolte
A guisa di cui vino o sonno piega?'
'O dolce Padre mio, se tu m' ascolte,
Io ti dirò,' diss' io, 'ciò che mi apparve 125
Quando le gambe mi furon sì tolte.'
Ed ei: 'Se tu avessi cento larve
Sopra la faccia, non mi sarien chiuse
Le tue cogitazion, quantunque parve.
Ciò che vedesti fu perchè non scuse 130
D' aprir lo core all' acque della pace
Che dall' eterno fonte son diffuse.
Non domandai "Che hai?" per quel che face

108. *Sè*, 'one another.' — *Martira*, 'kill': this trait is not in the Bible.
115. *Di fuori*, 'outward.'
124. *Ascolte* = *ascolti*.
128. *Sarien* = *sarebbero*.
129. *Parve*, 'small.'
130. *Perchè non scuse* (= *scusi*), 'to the end that thou refuse not.'
131. The visions were intended to teach Dante to cool the heat of anger with the waters of peace.
133. 'I did not ask "What ails thee?" for the same reason that he does' who

Chi guarda pur con l' occhio che non vede
Quando disanimato il corpo giace; 135
Ma domandai per darti forza al piede.
Così frugar conviensi i pigri, lenti
Ad usar lor vigilia quando riede.'
Noi andavam per lo vespero attenti
Oltre, quanto potean gli occhi allungarsi 140
Contra i raggi serotini e lucenti,
Ed ecco a poco a poco un fummo farsi
Verso di noi, come la notte oscuro;
Nè da quello era loco da cansarsi.
Questo ne tolse gli occhi e l' aere puro. 145

sees only with mortal eyes. For *per quel che,* cf. XXXIII, 77-8. Virgil's immortal sight, which could penetrate 'a hundred masks,' reads all of Dante's thoughts; he does not ask for information, but only to arouse his companion.

134, 135. 'The eye which ceases to see when the body lies lifeless' is a periphrasis for 'the mortal eye,' which is unable to read the mind. Virgil's sight is spiritual and eternal.

137. *Frugar:* cf. III, 3, XIV, 39.

144. The smoke covered the whole width of the terrace, so that 'there was no room to turn out from it.'

CANTO XVI

ARGUMENT

THE human soul, created at the birth of each infant, is guileless and naturally inclined to good and to gladness; the child of a happy maker, its first tendency is to seek happiness. All that seems excellent, all that appears to promise joy attracts it. But in its inexperience it may mistake false delight for true. It needs guidance; and for this end society, with its laws and rulers, was constituted. The laws still exist, but there is no one left to execute them, since the Papacy has usurped the Imperial power and joined the sword of worldly supremacy to the crozier of ecclesiastical authority. In the old days, when mankind fared well, Rome was the seat of two brother monarchs, neither of whom encroached upon the other — the Pope and the Emperor. Now the temporal chief is gone, and the spiritual leader does not suffice; for he whose province is religious thought cannot possess the gift of practical discrimination. This difference of office is indicated allegorically in the Bible in the Mosaic law which restricts the meat of the Israelites to 'whatsoever parteth the hoof, and is clovenfooted, and cheweth the cud' (Levit. xi, 3; Deut. xiv, 6). According to St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. cii, Art. 6, chewing the cud signifies meditation of the Scriptures, and the cloven foot means, among other things, the distinction of good and evil. The Pope may ruminate, but his own acts show that he does not 'part the hoof.' Lack of temporal direction, then, rather than universal corruption of the human heart, is the cause of modern depravity. The stars are not to blame. The heavenly bodies, indeed, governed by angels, determine, to a certain extent, our characters, so that our first inclinations are generally under their control; but we have the innate knowledge of right and wrong, and free will to combat wicked desires, if only our first steps are guided aright.

Thus speaks Mark the Lombard, a penitent in the circle of wrath. Nothing is known of his family or history, but Villani and the *Novelle Antiche* corroborate his excellent reputation. With his companions he marches in the smoke, chanting the 'Lamb of God': 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; Agnus

Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem.' Joining Dante, he deplores with him the decline of courtesy and virtue. In all Lombardy, he declares, — the province which, less than a century before, was the favorite resort of courtiers and poets, — there are but three worthy men left, noble survivors of an elder generation. We are reminded of the 'giusti son duo' of *Inf.* VI, 73, and the 'tre men rei della nostra terra' of Canzone IX, 76. The first of the three Lombards is Conrad (Corrado or Currado) da Palazzo, of Brescia, vicar general of Charles of Anjou in Florence in 1276, mayor of Piacenza in 1288. The second is Gherardo da Camino, captain general of Treviso from 1283 to 1306, upon whom Dante incidentally bestows high praise in the *Convivio* (IV, xiv, 114–23). The third, Guido da Castello, of Reggio, is also favorably mentioned in the *Convivio* (IV, xvi, 65–74); Mark says of him that he is most fitly called, 'in the French fashion, the "simple Lombard,"' but we do not know why. To emphasize the fame of the second of the three — to whom, one would think, he must have been bound by ties of personal gratitude — the poet resorts to an ingenious device. Mark refers to him merely as 'the good Gherardo,' and Dante, asking who is meant, calls forth the statement that no Tuscan can be unfamiliar with that name. If any other epithet than 'good' is needed to identify him, the only suitable one is that suggested by the name of his daughter, Gaia — namely, *gaio*, or 'well bred.' He is 'good' and 'well bred'; in other words, an example of 'valore e cortesia' (l. 116).

For the influence of the stars and its limitations, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cxv, Arts. 4 and 6. For a discussion of free will by Boethius, see R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905, 299 ff. For the need of double guidance, cf. *Mon.*, III, xvi, 75–101. For Marco Lombardo: *Bull.*, X, 187; Tor., 455. For Gaia: *Giorn. stor.*, XLIII, 411; *Bull.*, XI, 349; and especially G. B. Picotti in *Giorn. dant.*, XII, 81.

Buio d' inferno e di notte privata
  D' ogni pianeta sotto pover cielo,
  Quant' esser può di nuvol tenebrata,
Non fece al viso mio sì grosso velo
  Come quel fummo ch' ivi ci coperse,   5
  Nè a sentir di così aspro pelo;

2. *Pover:* 'poor' in fixed stars.
6. *Pelo*, 'texture,' carrying out the figure of the veil:

Chè l' occhio stare aperto non sofferse.
  Onde la Scorta mia saputa e fida
  Mi s' accostò, e l' omero m' offerse.
Sì come cieco va dietro a sua guida 10
  Per non smarrirsi, e per non dar di cozzo
  In cosa che il molesti o forse ancida,
M' andava io per l' aere amaro e sozzo,
  Ascoltando il mio Duca che diceva
  Pur: 'Guarda, che da me tu non sie mozzo.' 15
Io sentia voci, e ciascuna pareva
  Pregar, per pace e per misericordia,
  L' Agnel di Dio, che le peccata leva.
Pure *Agnus Dei* eran le loro esordia.
  Una parola in tutte era ed un modo, 20
  Sì che parea tra esse ogni concordia.
'Quei sono spirti, Maestro, ch' i' odo?'
  Diss' io. Ed egli a me: 'Tu vero apprendi,
  E d' iracondia van solvendo il nodo.'
'Or tu chi se', che il nostro fummo fendi, 25
  E di noi parli pur come se tue
  Partissi ancor lo tempo per calendi?'
Così per una voce detto fue.
  Onde il Maestro mio disse: 'Rispondi,
  E domanda se quinci si va sue.' 30
Ed io: 'O creatura, che ti mondi
  Per tornar bella a colui che ti fece,

13. Cf. *Æn.*, XII, 588: 'fumoque implevit amaro.'
15. *Mozzo*, 'severed.'
19. *Esordia*, 'beginnings': the first words of each verse of the prayer are 'Agnus Dei.'
20. *Modo*, 'measure.' The souls sing in unison, after the fashion of a Gregorian chant.
26. *Tue* = *tu:* cf. IV, 47. So in l. 30 *sue* = *su*.
27. *Per calendi*, 'by calends,' i. e., after the mortal way. In Dante's time the Florentines still gave the name of 'calends' to the first day of each month.

Maraviglia udirai se mi secondi.'
'Io ti seguiterò quanto mi lece,'
Rispose; 'e se veder fummo non lascia, 35
L' udir ci terrà giunti in quella vece.'
Allora incominciai: 'Con quella fascia
Che la morte dissolve men vo suso,
E venni qui per la infernale ambascia.
E se Dio m' ha in sua grazia richiuso 40
Tanto che vuol ch' io veggia la sua corte
Per modo tutto fuor del modern' uso,
Non mi celar chi fosti anzi la morte,
Ma dilmi, e dimmi s' io vo bene al varco;
E tue parole fien le nostre scorte.' 45
'Lombardo fui, e fui chiamato Marco.
Del mondo seppi, e quel valore amai
Al quale ha or ciascun disteso l' arco.
Per montar su dirittamente vai.'
Così rispose, e soggiunse: 'Io ti prego 50
Che per me preghi, quando su sarai.'
Ed io a lui: 'Per fede mi ti lego
Di far ciò che mi chiedi. Ma io scoppio
Dentro a un dubbio, s' io non me ne spiego.
Prima era scempio, ed ora è fatto doppio 55

33. *Secondi*, 'dost accompany': cf. XXI, 60.
36. *In quella vece*, 'instead': cf. *Inf.* XXI, 10.
37. *Fascia*, 'swathing band': the mortal body.
44. *Dilmi* =*dimmelo*.
47. *Seppi*, 'I learned the ways.'
48. *Disteso l'arco*, 'unbent his bow,' i. e., ceased to aim: once more Dante's favorite metaphor of shooting at a target.
54. Dante represents himself as enveloped in a 'doubt,' which binds him so tight that he will 'burst' if he does not 'extricate' himself from it. He wonders what is the cause of the degeneracy of modern times.
55. When the doubt was first suggested to him by the words of Guido del Duca in XIV, 37–41, it was 'single'; now it is 'doubled' by Marco's 'speech' in l. 48, which assures him of that with which he 'couples it' (namely, Guido's utterance).

Nella sentenza tua, che mi fa certo
(Qui ed altrove) quello ov' io l' accoppio.
Lo mondo è ben così tutto diserto
D' ogni virtute, come tu mi suone,
E di malizia gravido e coperto. 60
Ma prego che n' additi la cagione,
Sì ch' io la veggia, e ch' io la mostri altrui;
Chè nel cielo uno, ed un quaggiù la pone.'
Alto sospir, che duolo strinse in 'hui,'
Mise fuor prima, e poi cominciò: 'Frate, 65
Lo mondo è cieco, e tu vien ben da lui.
Voi che vivete ogni cagion recate
Pur suso al ciel, così come se tutto
Movesse seco di necessitate.
Se così fosse, in voi fora distrutto 70
Libero arbitrio, e non fora giustizia,
Per ben letizia, e per male aver lutto.
Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia, —
Non dico tutti; ma, posto ch' io il dica,
Lume v' è dato a bene ed a malizia, 75
E libero voler, che, se fatica
Nelle prime battaglie col ciel dura,
Poi vince tutto, se ben si nutrica.
A maggior forza ed a miglior natura

57. *Qui ed altrove:* here in the circle of wrath and down in the circle of envy.
59. *Suone*, 'proclaimest.' Cf. First Epistle of John v, 19: 'the whole world lieth in wickedness.'
63. Note that *il cielo*, here and in ll. 68, 73, 77, means 'the stars.' Some attribute modern wickedness to planetary influence, some to innate human depravity.
64. *Hui*, 'oo,' a soft moan. Cf. V, 27.
70, 71. *Fora* = *sarebbe*.
74. The stars initiate only bodily impulses; they have no control over the will, which belongs, not to the senses, but to the intellect. — *Posto ch' io il dica*, 'supposing I did say so.'
76. *Fatica* is the object of the verb *dura*.
79. The 'greater power and better nature' than the stars is God, who sets the

Liberi soggiacete, e quella cria 80
La mente in voi, che il ciel non ha in sua cura.
Però, se il mondo presente disvia,
In voi è la cagione, in voi si cheggia,
Ed io te ne sarò or vera spia.
Esce di mano a lui che la vagheggia 85
Prima che sia, — a guisa di fanciulla
Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia, —
L' anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,
Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,
Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla. 90
Di picciol bene in pria sente sapore;
Quivi s' inganna, e dietro ad esso corre,
Se guida o fren non torce suo amore.
Onde convenne legge per fren porre;
Convenne rege aver, che discernesse 95
Della vera cittade almen la torre.
Le leggi son, ma chi pon mano ad esse?
Nullo; però che il pastor che precede
Ruminar può, ma non ha l' unghie fesse.
Per che la gente, che sua guida vede 100
Pure a quel ben ferire ond' ell' è ghiotta,
Di quel si pasce, e più oltre non chiede.
Ben puoi veder che la mala condotta

will of man in motion and gives it a general inclination toward the good, leaving to man, however, a free choice between real and apparent good.

80. Without God, man can will nothing at all, but the particular object of his will rests with himself. — *Cria* = *crea*.

83. *Cheggia* = *chieda*.

85. The subject of *esce* is *l' anima* in l. 88. — 'He who loves it before it exists' is God.

91. *Picciol*, 'trivial.' — Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xii, 140–61.

95, 96. The 'king' should be one who had at least some inkling of justice — 'who could discern at least the tower (the most conspicuous part) of the city of truth.' — Cf. *Conv.*, IV, iv, 62–9.

101. The flock sees its 'shepherd, who walks ahead,' 'snatch only at the kind of good for which it is greedy' — i. e., temporal possessions.

È la cagion che il mondo ha fatto reo,
E non natura che in voi sia corrotta. 105
Soleva Roma, che il buon mondo feo,
Due Soli aver, che l' una e l' altra strada
Facean vedere, e del mondo e di Deo.
L' un l' altro ha spento, ed è giunta la spada
Col pastorale; e l' un con l' altro insieme 110
Per viva forza mal convien che vada,
Però che, giunti, l' un l' altro non teme.
Se non mi credi, pon mente alla spiga,
Ch' ogni erba si conosce per lo seme.
In sul paese ch' Adige e Po riga 115
Solea valore e cortesia trovarsi,
Prima che Federigo avesse briga;
Or può sicuramente indi passarsi
Per qualunque lasciasse per vergogna
Di ragionar coi buoni o d' appressarsi. 120
Ben v' en tre vecchi ancora in cui rampogna
L' antica età la nuova, e par lor tardo
Che Dio a miglior vita li ripogna:
Corrado da Palazzo, e il buon Gherardo,
E Guido da Castel, che me' si noma 125

106. *Feo* = *fece*. — Cf. *Conv.*, IV, v, 60–9.
107. Cf. *Mon.*, III, xvi, 75–82.
109. In 1300 Italy had known no Imperial guidance since the death of Frederick II, fifty years before.
113. *Spiga*, 'ear' of corn, i. e., 'fruit.'
114. *Lo seme:* 'the seed' that it bears. Cf. Mat. vii, 16: 'Ye shall know them by their fruits.' Also Luke vi, 43–4.
115. Lombardy in the Middle Ages included most of northern Italy.
117. Frederick II was at odds with the Church during the first three decades of the 13th century.
118, 119. 'Now anyone can traverse it without apprehension.' For the passive impersonal construction, cf. *Inf.* I, 126. — *Qualunque*, etc., 'anyone who, out of shame, should avoid conversing with the good, or approaching them.'
121. *En* = *enno* = *sono*.
123. *Ripogna* = *riponga:* cf. XIII, 64.
125. *Me'* = *meglio*.

Francescamente il semplice Lombardo.
Di' oggimai che la Chiesa di Roma,
Per confondere in sè due reggimenti,
Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma.'
'O Marco mio,' diss' io, 'bene argomenti; 130
Ed or discerno perchè da retaggio
Li figli di Levì furono esenti.
Ma qual Gherardo è quel che tu per saggio
Di' ch' è rimaso della gente spenta,
In rimproverio del secol selvaggio?' 135
'O tuo parlar m' inganna o e' mi tenta,'
Rispose a me; 'chè, parlandomi Tosco,
Par che del buon Gherardo nulla senta.
Per altro soprannome io nol conosco,
S' io nol togliessi da sua figlia Gaia. 140
Dio sia con voi, chè più non vegno vosco.
Vedi l' albor che per lo fummo raia
Già biancheggiare, e ne convien partirmi —
L' Angelo è ivi — prima ch' io gli appaia.'
Così tornò, e più non volle udirmi. 145

128. *Per*, 'through.'
132. The 'children of Levi,' or Levites, are the priests. — *Esenti*, 'excluded.' Cf. Numbers xviii, 20: 'And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any part among them: I am thy part and thine inheritance among the children of Israel.' Also Deut. x, 8–9.
133. *Saggio*, 'example.'
135. Cf. ll. 121–2.
136. *E' mi tenta*, 'it (thy speech) is testing me.'
137. *Tosco* = *toscano*, 'Tuscan.'
138. *Nulla senta*, 'it (thy speech) has no knowledge.'
141. *Vosco* = *con voi*.
142. 'The brightness that beams through the smoke' is the gleam of the white angel.

CANTO XVII

ARGUMENT

A THICK mist in the mountains, gradually clearing until 'the sun's disk' can be faintly discerned — such is the picture which, with a few strokes, Dante sets vividly before us, to convey an idea of the passing of the cloud of smoke on the third terrace. An apostrophe to Imagination, that mysterious power which constructs images within the mind, introduces the examples of wrath, presented in ecstatic visions. At the top of the stairway leading to the next shelf, night overtakes the travellers and compels them to stop. Just as in Hell (*Inf.* XI) the Latin poet utilizes a necessary halt, half way down the abyss, to set forth the general arrangement of the lower world, so here, half way up the slope of Purgatory, he explains to Dante the categories of sin and atonement.

To begin with, the 'seed' of every act in the universe, good or evil, is love. God himself is impelled by love, and none of his creatures is devoid of it. But love is of two kinds, instinctive and elective. Instinctive love — the only kind felt by inanimate things, plants, and beasts — is directly inspired by God, and consequently unerring. Aristotle, in his *Ethics*, III, xi, 3 and 4, taught a similar doctrine. This primal impulse to return to the maker and conform to his law is innate in man also; but man, endowed with free will, has power to divert his love to other objects, good or bad. The elective love, then, is subject to error. As long as it is bent upon heavenly things, it cannot go astray; nor is it harmful when turned to the good things of earth in due measure. But when man is lukewarm in his affection for the divine, or immoderate in his craving for worldly good, and when he loves evil, he misuses his liberty and opposes the will of his creator.

The choice of a bad object, insufficient devotion to a heavenly object, excessive attachment to a temporal object not evil in itself — these are the three wrong courses open to man's love. The first error results in the sins of the spirit, the three vices punished in the three lower circles; the second produces the negative vice of sloth, expiated in the fourth, or middle, circle; the third is responsible for the sins of the flesh, the three vices of the three

upper circles. The last two categories are not further discussed by Virgil, but the first — the love of evil — is treated in detail. At the outset this question arises: what kind of evil can man love, or, in other words, to whom may he wish harm? Having proved that it is impossible to hate one's self, or to hate God, Virgil shows that man is capable of hating his fellow-creatures alone — he may wish harm to his neighbor, but to no one else. Hatred of our neighbor springs up in three ways, and manifests itself accordingly in the three vices of pride, envy, and anger, which are defined in three consecutive tiercets.

For St. Thomas's definitions of pride ('amor propriæ excellentiæ'), envy ('tristitia de alienis bonis'), and anger, see *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxii, Art. 3; Qu. xxxvi, Arts. 2 and 3; Qu. clvi, Art. 4. For envy, cf. *Conv.*, I, iv, 42–56.

Ricorditi, lettor, — se mai nell' alpe
Ti colse nebbia, per la qual vedessi
Non altrimenti che per pelle talpe, —
Come, quando i vapori umidi e spessi
A diradar cominciansi, la spera 5
Del sol debilemente entra per essi;
E fia la tua imagine leggiera
In giugnere a veder com' io rividi
Lo sole in pria, che già nel corcare era.
Sì, pareggiando i miei co' passi fidi 10
Del mio Maestro, uscii fuor di tal nube
Ai raggi, morti già nei bassi lidi.
O imaginativa, che ne rube
Tal volta sì di fuor ch' uom non s' accorge

1. *Alpe*, 'mountains.'
3. According to Aristotle and Mediæval authorities, the eye of the mole is covered by a membrane which prevents it from seeing.
7. *Imagine* means a mental picture, generally derived from visual impression. *Imaginativa* (l. 13) and *fantasia* (l. 25) signify the faculty of receiving such pictures; *imaginazione* is the power of composing them.
10. Cf. XVI, 8–9.
12. The 'shores' of the Island of Purgatory.
13. *Imaginativa:* see note to l. 7. — *Ne rube*, 'stealest us.'
14. *Di fuor*, 'from the outer world.' — *Uom*, 'one': cf. French *on*.

Perchè d' intorno suonin mille tube, 15
Chi move te, se il senso non ti porge?
Moveti lume che nel ciel s' informa
Per sè, o per voler che giù lo scorge?
Dell' empiezza di lei che mutò forma
Nell' uccel che a cantar più si diletta 20
Nell' imagine mia apparve l' orma;
E qui fu la mia mente sì ristretta
Dentro da sè, che di fuor non venia
Cosa che fosse allor da lei recetta.
Poi piovve dentro all' alta fantasia 25
Un crocifisso, dispettoso e fiero
Nella sua vista, e cotal si moria.
Intorno ad esso era il grande Assüero,
Ester sua sposa e il giusto Mardocheo,

15. *Perchè*, 'although.'
16. *Non ti porge*, 'offers thee naught.' What is it that arouses the faculty of mental vision in the case of hallucinations, when no impression of sight comes from without? Is it some physical stellar influence, or the divine will operating through the stars? Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxxiv, Art. 6.
17. *S' informa*, 'takes shape.'
18. *Per sè:* spontaneously. — *Voler:* the 'will' of God. — *Scorge*, 'directs.'
19. The first example is that of Progne (or Procne), who, to avenge the cruel and infamous wrong done by her husband, Tereus, king of Thrace, to her sister Philomela, made him eat of the flesh of his own child, Itys. Tereus and the two sisters were then turned into birds. According to Aristotle (*Rhetoric*, III, 3) and most of the Greeks, Progne became a nightingale and Philomela a swallow; the Latins, followed by modern poets, usually made Philomela the nightingale. But Ovid (*Met.*, VI, 424 ff.), the Latin poet from whom Dante got the story, does not tell, and Virgil (*Eclogue* VI, 79) seems to follow the Greek version, which Dante also adopted. Cf. IX, 13–5. See D' Ovidio, 579–81. — *Dell' empiezza* depends on *l' orma*, 'the impress,' in l. 21.
24. *Ricetta* = *ricevuta*.
26. The 'one crucified' is Haman, minister of King Ahasuerus, who 'reigned from India even unto Ethiopia' (Esther i, 1). Enraged at the independence of the Jew, Mordecai, 'so upright in word and deed' (l. 30), who 'bowed not, nor did him reverence' (Esther iii, 5), 'Haman sought to destroy all the Jews that were throughout the whole kingdom' (v, 6); but through the influence of Esther, Mordecai's cousin and adopted daughter, who had become the wife of Ahasuerus, he was himself 'hanged on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai' (vii, 10). In the Vulgate, the 'gallows fifty cubits high' (vii, 9) is a 'cross.' The scene of the execution is not described in the Bible.

Che fu al dire ed al far così intero. 30
E come questa imagine rompeo
Sè per sè stessa, a guisa d' una bulla
Cui manca l' acqua sotto qual si feo,
Surse in mia visïone una fanciulla,
Piangendo forte, e diceva: 'O regina, 35
Perchè per ira hai voluto esser nulla?
Ancisa t' hai per non perder Lavina —
Or m' hai perduta: io son essa che lutto,
Madre, alla tua pria ch' all' altrui ruïna.'
Come si frange il sonno, ove di butto 40
Nuova luce percote il viso chiuso,
Che fratto guizza pria che moia tutto;
Così l' imaginar mio cadde giuso,
Tosto ch' un lume il volto mi percosse,
Maggiore assai che quel ch' è in nostr' uso. 45
Io mi volgea per vedere ov' io fosse,
Quand' una voce disse: 'Qui si monta,'
Che da ogni altro intento mi rimosse,
E fece la mia voglia tanto pronta
Di riguardar chi era che parlava, 50
Che mai non posa, se non si raffronta.

31. *Rompeo* = *ruppe*.
32. *Bulla* = *bolla*, 'bubble': the air that is enclosed in a spherical film of water.
35. The 'queen' is Amata, wife of King Latinus, who hanged herself in a fit of rage on hearing a premature report of the death of Turnus, the intended husband of her daughter Lavinia (cf. *Inf.* IV, 126). She feared that her daughter would be taken from her by the victorious Æneas. See *Æn.* VII, 341 ff.; XII, 604 ff. Cf. Dante, Epistola VII, vii, 148.
37. Such forms as *Lavina* for *Lavinia* were common in early Italian.
39. Lavinia has to 'mourn' the death of her mother before that of Turnus.
40. *Ove di butto* (cf. *Inf.* XXII, 130), 'when suddenly.'
42. *Che guizza*, 'which (i. e., sleep) quivers.'
51. *Se non si raffronta*, 'until it is face to face.' For the abrupt substitution (suggested by the rhyme) of the vivid present tense for the imperfect, cf. XI, 75. — Cf. Giacomo da Lentini, *Madonna dir vi voglio*, ll. 29–30:

'Che [lo cor] giamai non è kito [= cheto]
Fintanto che non vene al suo sentore.'

Ma come al sol, che nostra vista grava
E per soperchio sua figura vela,
Così la mia virtù quivi mancava.
'Questi è divino spirito, che ne la 55
Via d' andar su ne drizza senza prego,
E col suo lume sè medesmo cela.
Sì fa con noi come l' uom si fa sego;
Chè quale aspetta prego, e l' uopo vede,
Malignamente già si mette al nego. 60
Ora accordiamo a tanto invito il piede:
Procacciam di salir pria che s' abbui,
Chè poi non si poria, se il dì non riede.'
Così disse il mio Duca, ed io con lui
Volgemmo i nostri passi ad una scala; 65
E tosto ch' io al primo grado fui,
Senti' mi presso quasi un mover d' ala,
E ventarmi nel viso, e dir: '*Beati*
Pacifici, che son senza ira mala.'
Già eran sopra noi tanto levati 70
Gli ultimi raggi che la notte segue,
Che le stelle apparivan da più lati.
'O virtù mia, perchè sì ti dilegue?'
Fra me stesso dicea, chè mi sentiva
La possa delle gambe posta in tregue. 75

53. *Soverchio*, 'excess.'
55. *Ne la* = *nella:* for the imperfect rhyme, cf. *Inf.* VIII, 17. Petrarch usually spelled such combinations with one *l*. Weak words in the rhyme are rare in Dante.
58. *Sego* = *seco* = *con sè*. Cf. Mat. vii, 12.
59. *Quale*, 'whosoever.' — *Uopo*, 'need.' — The logical order of the two clauses is inverted.
60. *Nego*, 'refusal.' Cf. Canzone XII, 39: 'E quei d'ogni mercè par messo al niego.'
63. *Poria* = *potrebbe*.
67. Cf. XII, 98. The third letter is removed from Dante's brow.
68, 69. Mat. v, 9: 'Blessed are the peacemakers.'
73. *Virtù*, 'strength.' — *Ti dilegue*, 'meltest thou.'
75. *Posta in tregue*, 'suspended.'

Noi eravam dove più non saliva
La scala su, ed eravamo affissi,
Pur come nave ch' alla piaggia arriva.
Ed io attesi un poco s' io udissi
Alcuna cosa nel nuovo girone; 80
Poi mi volsi al Maestro mio, e dissi:
'Dolce mio Padre, di', quale offensione
Si purga qui nel giro dove semo?
Se i piè si stanno, non stea tuo sermone.'
Ed egli a me: 'L' amor del bene, scemo 85
Di suo dover, quiritta si ristora,
Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo.
Ma perchè più aperto intendi ancora,
Volgi la mente a me, e prenderai
Alcun buon frutto di nostra dimora. 90
Nè creator, nè creatura mai,'
Cominciò ei, 'figliuol, fu senza amore,
O naturale o d' animo; e tu il sai.
Lo natural è sempre senza errore;
Ma l' altro puote errar per malo obbietto 95
O per poco o per troppo di vigore.
Mentre ch' egli è ne' primi ben diretto,
E ne' secondi sè stesso misura,
Esser non può cagion di mal diletto;

77. *Affissi*, 'fixed.'
83. *Semo* = *siamo*.
84. *Stea* = *stia*.
85, 86. 'The love of right, diminished of its due (i. e., less than it should be), is here made good.' The sin punished is *acedia*, or sloth.
87. *Si ribatte*, 'is plied again.'
93. *D' animo*, 'of the will,' elective.
97. *Ne' primi ben diretto*, 'turned to the primal goods,' i. e., heavenly blessings.
98. 'And while it is moderate in its attachment to secondary goods,' i. e., worldly blessings.
99. *Mal diletto*, 'sinful pleasure.'

Ma quando al mal si torce, o con più cura 100
  O con men che non dee corre nel bene,
  Contra il fattore adopra sua fattura.
Quinci comprender puoi ch' esser conviene
  Amor sementa in voi d' ogni virtute
  E d' ogni operazion che merta pene. 105
Or perchè mai non può dalla salute
  Amor del suo suggetto volger viso,
  Dall' odio proprio son le cose tute.
E perchè intender non si può diviso,
  E per sè stante, alcuno esser dal primo, 110
  Da quello odiare ogni affetto è deciso.
Resta (se dividendo bene estimo)
  Che il mal che s' ama è del prossimo, ed esso
  Amor nasce in tre modi in vostro limo.
È chi per esser suo vicin soppresso 115
  Spera eccellenza, e sol per questo brama
  Ch' e' sia di sua grandezza in basso messo.
È chi podere, grazia, onore e fama
  Teme di perder perch' altri sormonti,

100, 101. *O con più cura*, etc.: when it runs to worldly good with more ardor, or to heavenly good with less ardor, than it should.

102. *Adopra*, 'is working': the subject is *sua fattura*, 'his own creature.'

106, 107. 'Now, since love can never avert its gaze from the welfare of its own subject,' i. e., can never be hostile to the interest of the person in whose heart it dwells.

108. 'Things are safe (i. e., exempt) from self-hate': we cannot hate ourselves. Cf. Ephesians v, 29: 'For no man ever yet hated his own flesh.'

109, 110. 'And since no being can be conceived of as severed from the primal being and existing independently.' Cf. Acts xvii, 28: 'For in him [the Lord] we live, and move, and have our being.'

111. 'Every heart is debarred from hating him.' It is impossible to hate God, in whom we exist. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xii, 138–57.

112. 'It follows, if I judge rightly in my distinctions.' *Resta* is used like the scholastic *relinquitur* or *restat*.

114. *In vostro limo*, 'in your (mortal) clay.'

115, 116. 'There is the man who hopes to excel through his neighbor being crushed down,' i. e., 'by the abasement of his neighbor.'

117. *E'* is the neighbor.

119. *Perch' altri sormonti*, 'because another may rise,' i. e., 'through another's success.'

Onde s' attrista sì che il contrario ama. 120
Ed è chi per ingiuria par ch' adonti
Sì che si fa della vendetta ghiotto;
E tal convien che il male altrui impronti.
Questo triforme amor quaggiù disotto
Si piange; or vo' che tu dell' altro intende, 125
Che corre al ben con ordine corrotto.
Ciascun confusamente un bene apprende,
Nel qual si queti l' animo, e disira;
Per che di giugner lui ciascun contende.
Se lento amore in lui veder vi tira, 130
O a lui acquistar, questa cornice,
Dopo giusto penter, ve ne martira.
Altro ben è che non fa l' uom felice;
Non è felicità, non è la buona
Essenza, d' ogni ben frutto e radice. 135
L' amor ch' ad esso troppo s' abbandona
Di sopra noi si piange per tre cerchi;
Ma come tripartito si ragiona,
Tacciolo, acciocchè tu per te ne cerchi.'

120. *Il contrario:* 'the contrary' of another's success.
121. *Adonti,* 'is shamed': cf. *Inf.* VI, 72.
123. *Impronti,* 'prepares.'
124. *Quaggiù disotto:* in the three circles below us.
125. *Altro,* sc., *amor.* — *Intende* = *intenda.*
126. *Con ordine corrotto,* 'in perverted measure': too sluggishly toward heavenly good, too eagerly toward worldly good.
127. *Apprende,* 'conceives of.'
128. Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions,* I, i: 'Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.' — *Disira,* 'he longs for it.'
130. *In lui veder,* 'to behold it.'
133. *Altro ben è,* 'there is a different kind of good.'
135. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ,* Prima, Qu. vi, Art. 3: 'solus Deus est bonus per suam essentiam.'
138. *Si ragiona,* 'it is expounded.'
139. *Tacciolo,* 'I withhold it,' i. e., 'I tell thee not.'

CANTO XVIII

ARGUMENT

Acedia is defined by St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxiii, Art. 2) as 'a certain sadness by which man is made slow to spiritual acts on account of physical difficulty.' Elsewhere (Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xxxv, Art. 1) he calls it 'weariness of doing,' and 'sorrow over apparent ill which is real good.' Throughout the Middle Ages it was regarded as a capital vice. In our day we should be likely to attribute its most characteristic manifestations to a disease, melancholia or neurasthenia. To Dante, as we have seen, it meant a spiritual sluggishness due to insufficiency of love. The cure must obviously be enforced spiritual activity, and consequently the souls in the fourth circle are represented as rushing at the top of their speed around their ledge, filled with righteous zeal. Dante takes no part in the penance. The examples on this terrace are recited by the penitents themselves, two at the head of the band proclaiming instances of celerity, two at the rear calling tales of sloth. Startling is the swiftness with which the whole throng comes and goes.

When the spirits appear, the moon is newly risen. Not far from the horizon, but already 'making the stars seem fewer,' its half-disk looks like a red-hot kettle. The moon, in its monthly circuit around the earth, moves from west to east, and therefore passes through the constellations, night after night, in a direction opposite to the general course of the heavens. The annual march of the sun, too, is backward — not directly, however, but diagonally, as Dante points out in *Conv.*, III, v, 126–30. When he speaks of the moon as 'running contrary to the sky' (l. 79), he refers to this continuous backing, not to any motion visible to an observer in a single night. The moon's revolution is accomplished in a little less than twenty-eight days. On its fourteenth day, or thereabouts, it is full, and rises at sunset; on or near its twenty-first day it enters into its last quarter, when it rises at midnight. Inasmuch as the moon was full on the night when Dante was lost in the wood (*Inf.* XX, 127–9), it has now reached its eighteenth or nineteenth day, and is 'delayed' in its rising 'almost until midnight' (l. 76). Furthermore, it is moving 'over that road which the sun kindles

at the time of year when the Roman sees it (the sun) set between Sardinia and Corsica' (ll. 79–81). That is to say, the moon is now in that part of the sky where the sun is to be found at the season when a line drawn from Rome toward sunset would pass between Sardinia and Corsica. Of course the Roman cannot really see the two islands; he merely perceives the sun disappearing in that direction. Now, such a line points nearly west-southwest, the quarter where the sun, as seen from Rome, descends toward the end of November; and at that time the sun is in Sagittarius. Against this constellation, then, the moon shows itself to Dante as it rises.

The time before the arrival of the spirits is employed by Virgil to expound to his pupil the doctrine of love (which, as he has already stated, is the motive power of the whole universe) and of free will. But inasmuch as the full comprehension of free will transcends mere Reason, the teacher must leave the completion of his exposition to Beatrice, who, in fact, discusses the subject in *Par.* V, 19 ff. In every soul, from its creation, love is latent, ready to be aroused to activity by a pleasing object. This theory we find already formulated by Dante — as far as the love of gentleman and lady is concerned — in the tenth sonnet of the *Vita Nuova, Amor e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa.* The senses convey to the mind the impression of some attractive object in the material world; the understanding then develops this impression in such a way that it is brought to the notice of the will, which may or may not lean toward the object in question. Or, in Dante's words, 'the human perception derives from a real being (*esser verace*, l. 22) a conception (*intenzione*, l. 23), and unfolds it within the mind, so that it makes the desire turn towards it; and if, having thus turned, the desire inclines to it, that inclination is love.' This definition follows that of St. Thomas in the *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. xxvi. The process is illustrated in dramatic form by Dante in Canzone XI, ll. 16–36, where it is especially interesting to compare the 'colà dov' ella è vera' of l. 35 with the 'esser verace' of the present passage. The poet adds that this inclination is the natural human instinct (*natura*, l. 26), which, through a pleasing impression (*piacer*, l. 27), is once more bound in the soul. Before it is awakened to action, it is 'bound,' because it exists only in a potential state; after it is quickened and fixed, it is 'bound' again, in the sense that it is restricted to one object. Passion, according to St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxvii, Art. 2), is a sort of bodily modification which 'binds' the reason. The captive will, then, is moved to desire, and has no rest until it attains its object. This motion of

the will is as natural, in the spiritual world, as, in the physical universe, the upward tendency of the flame, which is constantly striving to regain the sphere of fire, where its element is eternal. It is the 'form,' or character, of fire to rise, as it is the 'form' of the soul to love.

From the principle that love, in the abstract, is a general craving for good the Epicureans have deduced the conclusion that all love is, in itself, praiseworthy; but they overlook the fact that the especial object of desire may be evil, possessing only a false semblance of goodness. Even as a poor seal may stamp on excellent wax a bad imprint, so an unworthy object may kindle the good instinct of love to a wrongful passion. The first impulse to a particular affection comes from without, and is therefore not under our control; nevertheless, we are responsible, because we have the inborn knowledge of good and evil, and the free will to take or reject. 'Every substantial form,' says Dante in ll. 49–51, 'which is distinct from matter and yet combined with it, has, appropriated to itself, a specific faculty.' A 'substance,' in scholastic language, is something that has an independent being (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. iii, Art. 5); the 'form' is the fundamental character of a thing; 'substantial form' (cf. *Conv.*, III, ii, 25) means the particular basic principle, that which gives an object its separate existence (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 4), and the substantial form of mankind is the intellective soul, which is utterly different from matter, and yet is united with it in the human body. A 'specific faculty' is one that is common and peculiar to a whole species. The specific faculty possessed by the intellective soul of man is an instinct which comprises innate knowledge and the inborn disposition to love. This instinct is apparent only through its works, just as in a plant life manifests itself by green leaves. Hence we are not aware of the source of our axiomatic notions, nor of our natural inclination toward all that seems good: these things are a part of us, as the honey-making proclivity is a part of the bee. Since they are not of our own begetting, they call for neither praise nor blame. This God-given instinct is necessarily innocent; we must see to it that the inclinations which we do control are equally harmless. To this end we have judgment, — 'the faculty that counsels' (l. 62), — which 'defends the threshold of consent.' Judgment tells us which desires are right and which are wrong; and although our first impulses may always take us unawares, our decisions are subject to our own free will.

For the position of the moon, see Moore, III, 71–3.

Posto avea fine al suo ragionamento
L' alto Dottore, ed attento guardava
Nella mia vista s' io parea contento.
Ed io, cui nuova sete ancor frugava,
Di fuor taceva, e dentro dicea: 'Forse 5
Lo troppo domandar, ch' io fo, gli grava.'
Ma quel padre verace, che s' accorse
Del timido voler che non s' apriva,
Parlando, di parlare ardir mi porse.
Ond' io: 'Maestro, il mio veder s' avviva 10
Sì nel tuo lume ch' io discerno chiaro
Quanto la tua ragion porti o descriva.
Però ti prego, dolce Padre caro,
Che mi dimostri amore, a cui riduci
Ogni buono operare e il suo contraro.' 15
'Drizza,' disse, 'ver me l' acute luci
Dello intelletto, e fieti manifesto
L' error dei ciechi che si fanno duci.
L' animo, ch' è creato ad amar presto,
Ad ogni cosa è mobile che piace, 20
Tosto che dal piacere in atto è desto.
Vostra apprensiva da esser verace
Tragge intenzione, e dentro a voi la spiega
Sì che l' animo ad essa volger face.
E se, rivolto, in ver di lei si piega, 25

12. *Ragion*, 'explanation.'
16. *Luci*, 'eyes.'
17. *Fieti* = *ti sarà*.
18. Cf. ll. 34–6. — Mat. xv, 14: 'they be blind leaders of the blind.'
19. *Presto*, 'ready.'
20. *Mobile*, 'susceptible.'
22. *Apprensiva*, 'perception.' — *Esser verace*, 'a real thing': a curious use of *verace*. Tor. reads *essa, verace*, referring *essa* to *cosa* (l. 20), and connecting *verace* with *intenzione* (l. 23).
23. *Intenzione*, 'image,' abstract conception: cf. *Conv.*, III, ix, 70. See *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 96.

Quel piegare è amor, quello è natura
Che per piacer di nuovo in voi si lega.
Poi come il foco movesi in altura, —
Per la sua forma, ch' è nata a salire
Là dove più in sua materia dura, — 30
Così l' animo preso entra in disire,
Ch' è moto spiritale, e mai non posa
Fin che la cosa amata il fa gioire.
Or ti puote apparer quant' è nascosa
La veritade alla gente ch' avvera 35
Ciascuno amore in sè laudabil cosa;
Però che forse appar la sua matera
Sempr' esser buona, ma non ciascun segno
E buono, ancor che buona sia la cera.'
'Le tue parole e il mio seguace ingegno,' 40
Risposi lui, 'm' hanno amor discoperto;
Ma ciò m' ha fatto di dubbiar più pregno.
Chè s' amore è di fuori a noi offerto,
E l' anima non va con altro piede,
Se dritta o torta va, non è suo merto.' 45
Ed egli a me: 'Quanto ragion qui vede
Dirti poss' io; da indi in là t' aspetta
Pure a Beatrice, ch' opera è di fede.

27. *Per*, 'through.'
28. *Met.*, XV, 243: 'Alta petunt aer atque aere purior ignis.' Cf. Aristotle, *Ethics*, II, i, 2.
31. *Preso*, 'captivated.' — *Disire*, 'desire.'
32, 33. Cf. XVII, 51. See *Conv.*, III, ii, 17–23.
35. *Avvera*, 'maintains.'
36. Cf. Matfre Ermengau, *Breviari d' Amor*, 27311–2:

'Digam donc que l'amors en se
Es bona, qui n' uzara be.'

37. *Matera* = *materia*: cf. *Lavina* in XVII, 37.
44. *Non va con altro piede*, 'proceeds not otherwise.'
46. 'As much as reason can discern here (i. e., in this matter).'
47. *Da indi in là*, 'for the rest.'

Ogni forma sustanzïal che setta
  È da materia ed è con lei unita, 50
  Specifica virtù ha in sè colletta,
La qual senza operar non è sentita,
  Nè si dimostra ma' che per effetto,
  Come per verdi fronde in pianta vita.
Però, là onde vegna lo intelletto 55
  Delle prime notizie, uomo non sape,
  Nè de' primi appetibili l' affetto,
Che sono in voi, sì come studio in ape
  Di far lo mele; e questa prima voglia
  Merto di lode o di biasmo non cape. 60
Or, perchè a questa ogni altra si raccoglia,
  Innata v' è la virtù che consiglia,
  E dell' assenso de' tener la soglia.
Quest' è il principio, là onde si piglia
  Ragion di meritare in voi, secondo 65
  Che buoni e rei amori accoglie e viglia.
Color che ragionando andaro al fondo
  S' accorser d' esta innata libertate,

49. *Setta*, 'parted,' i. e., 'distinct.'
50. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 4: 'Anima intellectiva unitur corpori ut forma substantialis.'
51. *Colletta*, 'gathered.'
53. *Ma' che*, 'except.' *Ma'* means 'more.'
55. *Là onde*, 'whence.' — *Intelletto*, 'cognition.'
56. *Prime notizie*, 'primal ideas': the things that appear as axiomatic truths. — *Sape* = *sa*.
57. 'Nor the liking for the primal objects of desire,' i. e., goodness and happiness.
58. *Studio*, 'eagerness.'
60. *Merto . . . non cape*, 'admits of no desert.' So *Conv.*, III, iv, 52–61. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lx, Art. 2.
61. 'Now, in order that every other (wish) may conform to this (primal wish),' which is instinctively good. — Cf. *Mon.*, I, xii, 1–37.
63. 'And must defend the threshold of consent.'
64. *Principio*, 'source.' — *Si piglia*, 'is derived.'
66. *Viglia*, 'winnows out,' discards.
67. 'Those' are the philosophers.

Però moralità lasciaro al mondo.
Onde, pognam che di necessitate 70
Surga ogni amor che dentro a voi s' accende,
Di ritenerlo è in voi la potestate.
La nobile virtù Beatrice intende
Per lo libero arbitrio, e però guarda
Che l' abbi a mente, s' a parlar ten prende.' — 75
La luna, quasi a mezza notte tarda,
Facea le stelle a noi parer più rade,
Fatta com' un secchione che tutto arda;
E correa contra il ciel per quelle strade
Che il sole infiamma allor che quel da Roma 80
Tra i Sardi e i Corsi il vede quando cade.
E quell' ombra gentil, per cui si noma
Pietola più che villa Mantovana,
Del mio carcar deposto avea la soma.
Perch' io, che la ragione aperta e piana 85
Sopra le mie questioni avea ricolta,
Stava com' uom che sonnolento vana.
Ma questa sonnolenza mi fu tolta
Subitamente da gente, che dopo
Le nostre spalle a noi era già volta. 90
E quale Ismeno già vide ed Asopo
Lungo di sè di notte furia e calca, —

69. *Lasciaro*, 'allowed.'
70. *Pognam* = *poniamo*, 'supposing.'
73. *La*, 'this.' — *Intende*, 'means.'
75. *S' a parlar ten prende*, 'if she proceeds to speak to thee of it.'
78. *Secchione:* a pot-shaped metal bucket.
82. *Per cui*, 'on whose account.' Virgil was born at Andes, now called Piètola, near Mantua.
84. 'Had put off the burden of my loading (i. e., with which I had loaded him),' had discharged the duty I had set him.
87. *Vana*, 'lets his mind wander.'
91. Ismēnus and Asōpus are rivers in Bœotia, near Thebes, the birthplace of Bacchus.
92. *Quale* (l. 91) . . . *furia e calca*, 'such a rush and throng as . . . ': the Bacchic orgies. Cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, IX, 434 ff.

Pur che i Teban di Bacco avesser uopo, —
Cotal per quel giron suo passo falca
(Per quel ch' io vidi) di color, venendo, 95
Cui buon volere e giusto amor cavalca.
Tosto fur sopra noi, perchè correndo
Si movea tutta quella turba magna.
E due dinanzi gridavan piangendo:
'Maria corse con fretta alla montagna;' 100
E, 'Cesare, per soggiogare Ilerda,
Punse Marsilia, e poi corse in Ispagna.'
'Ratto, ratto, che il tempo non si perda
Per poco amor,' gridavan gli altri appresso;
'Che studio di ben far grazia rinverda.' 105
'O gente, in cui fervore acuto adesso
Ricompie forse negligenza e indugio,
Da voi per tepidezza in ben far messo,
Questi che vive (e certo io non vi bugio)
Vuole andar su, purchè il sol ne riluca; 110
Però ne dite ov' è presso il pertugio.'
Parole furon queste del mio Duca.
Ed un di quegli spirti disse: 'Vieni
Diretro a noi, e troverai la buca.
Noi siam di voglia a moverci sì pieni 115

93. *Pur che*, 'whenever.'
94. 'Such (a throng) bends its way around that circle.'
95. *Per*, 'judging from.'
96. *Cui*, 'whom.' — *Cavalca*, 'drives.'
98. *Magna*, 'great.'
100. Luke i, 39: 'And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste,' to see Elizabeth.
101. *Ilerda*, Lerida, a city in Spain, held by the adherents of Pompey. Cf. *Phars.*, III, 453–5; also, for the general swiftness of Cæsar's movements, I, 151–7.
102. Cæsar began the siege of Marseilles, and then, leaving it to a lieutenant, hastened on to Spain. Cf. Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, VI, xv.
105. 'So that eagerness in welldoing may renew grace.'
107. *Ricompie*, 'compensates for.'
109. *Bugio*, 'lie.'
110. *Purchè*, 'as soon as.'

Che ristar non potem; però perdona,
Se villania nostra giustizia tieni.
Io fui Abate in San Zeno a Verona,
Sotto lo imperio del buon Barbarossa,
Di cui dolente ancor Milan ragiona. 120
E tale ha già l' un piè dentro la fossa,
Che tosto piangerà quel monastero,
E tristo fia d' averne avuto possa;
Perchè suo figlio, mal del corpo intero,
E della mente peggio, e che mal nacque, 125
Ha posto in loco di suo pastor vero.'
Io non so se più disse, o s' ei si tacque,
Tant' era già di là da noi trascorso;
Ma questo intesi, e ritener mi piacque.
E quei che m' era ad ogni uopo soccorso 130
Disse: 'Volgiti in qua, vedine due
Venire, dando all' accidia di morso.'
Diretro a tutti dicean: 'Prima fue
Morta la gente a cui il mar s' aperse,
Che vedesse Jordan le rede sue;' 135
E, 'Quella che l' affanno non sofferse

117. 'If thou takest our retribution for rudeness.'
118. We know nothing of this abbot of the monastery of St. Zeno.
120. *Ragiona*, 'speaks.' The Emperor Barbarossa destroyed Milan in 1162.
121. *Tale*, 'a certain man': Alberto della Scala, lord of Verona, who died in 1301.
123. *Possa*, 'control.'
124. *Suo figlio* is object of *ha posto* (l. 126). Giuseppe della Scala, the illegitimate son of Alberto, was abbot of St. Zeno from 1292 to 1313. — *Mal . . . intero*, 'defective.' In Levit. xxi, 16–23, 'whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish' is excluded from divine office.
126. *Suo*, 'its.' — *Vero:* lawful.
132. *Dando . . . di morso*, 'biting.'
133, 134, 135. The Hebrews who had crossed the Red Sea were sluggish and rebellious, and all perished, except Caleb and Joshua, before the Promised Land was reached. Cf. Numbers xiv, 16–33; Joshua v, 6.
136. *Quella:* sc., *gente*. Some of Æneas's companions, weary of hardship, stayed behind in Sicily with Acestes. See *Æn.*, V, 700–78; especially l. 751: 'animos nil magnæ laudes egentes.'

Fino alla fine col figliuol d' Anchise,
Sè stessa a vita senza gloria offerse.'
Poi quando fur da noi tanto divise
Quell' ombre che veder più non potersi, 140
Nuovo pensiero dentro a me si mise,
Del qual più altri nacquero e diversi;
E tanto d' uno in altro vaneggiai
Che gli occhi per vaghezza ricopersi,
E il pensamento in sogno trasmutai. 145

140. *Potersi* = *si poterono*.
144. *Vaghezza*, 'wool-gathering.'

CANTO XIX

ARGUMENT

Dante's sojourn in the realm of sloth occurs at night, the time when activity is suspended, and he tarries there much longer than in the other circles. In these coincidences we are to see, no doubt, an artistic rather than a symbolic relevancy. Here, in the prophetic hour that precedes dawn, he has the second of his three allegorical dreams. This one reveals to him the true nature of the sins of the flesh, whose penitent victims he is to visit during the ensuing day; at the same time it illustrates, in concrete, dramatic form, the doctrine of temptation, discretion, and resistance expounded in the foregoing canto (XVIII, 49–66). A hideous, impotent female — stammering, cross-eyed, handless, club-footed, pale — is gradually transformed, as Dante looks on her, into a siren of perilous beauty; thus evil desire, hateful and powerless at first, becomes alluring if we let our minds dwell upon it. While the poet is listening to the sweet voice of the temptress, a 'lady quick and holy' springs up to confound her. This heaven-sent counsellor (the 'virtù che consiglia' of XVIII, 62) arouses Reason; and he, gazing steadfastly on this pure image of Conscience, never allowing his eyes to stray to the dangerous charms of the deceiver, discloses to the shocked dreamer the real foulness of her who has so attracted him. Even so, in one of the tales of Cæsarius of Heisterbach (*Dialogus Miraculorum*, XII, ch. iv), a sweet-voiced cleric, who has bewitched all by his song, collapses, when exorcised, into a putrid corpse.

The myth of the sirens had survived in mediæval folklore and literature. Hugh of St. Victor, for instance, in *De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus*, II, ch. xxxii, likens dissolute men, in the devil's clutches, to sailors lulled and killed by sirens. Dante's siren boasts that she once 'turned Ulysses from his wandering way.' While this is allegorically true, — since Ulysses was led into forbidden seas by his eagerness to have experience of 'human vices and virtue' (*Inf.* XXVI, 97–9), — it is not literally in accordance with Homer's narrative. Dante had never read the *Odyssey*, and probably got his knowledge of the episode from a passage in Cicero (*De Finibus*, V, xviii, 49), which, taken by itself, might easily give the impression that Ulysses succumbed.

The worst of the sins of the flesh is avarice, which, in Purgatory as in Hell (*Inf.* VII), is coupled with the contrary vice of prodigality. Both hoarding and squandering consist, when reduced to their underlying principle, in immoderateness with regard to property; the virtue opposed to both is moderation, the golden mean between the two extremes. But while Dante, for theoretical reasons, insists on this combination, he evidently centres his attention on avarice in his description of penance and penitents. Those whose eyes were fixed on vile earthly goods must lie with their faces in the dust; those who eschewed useful activity are now tight bound and motionless. Allegorically the discipline signifies the averting of the mind from worldly things and the humble renunciation of glory and power. As love of money has much in common with envy, so there is a resemblance between the punishments in the second circle (XIII) and the fifth, which Dante now enters.

Nell' ora che non può il calor diurno
  Intepidar più il freddo della luna,
  Vinto da terra o talor da Saturno, —
Quando i geomanti lor *maggior fortuna*
  Veggiono in oriente, innanzi all' alba, 5
  Surger per via che poco le sta bruna, —
Mi venne in sogno una femmina balba,
  Negli occhi guercia e sopra i piè distorta,
  Con le man monche, e di colore scialba.
Io la mirava; e, come il sol conforta 10
  Le fredde membra che la notte aggrava,

1, 2, 3. The coldest hour is just before dawn. The earth itself was regarded as naturally cold, and a chill was supposed to descend from the moon, as well as from Saturn when it is above the horizon (cf. *Conv.*, II, xiv, 201; Canzone XV, 7).

4. 'Geomancers' foretold the future by means of figures constructed on points that were distributed by chance. One of their figures, called *fortuna major*, or 'greater fortune,' resembled a combination of the last stars of Aquarius and the first of Pisces. As these constellations immediately precede Aries, in which the sun is from March 21 to April 21, the figure in question can be seen in the east shortly before sunrise at that season.

6. The 'road' by which *fortuna major* rises is 'kept dark for it only a little while,' because the sun, following close after, makes the stars fade.

11. *Aggrava*, 'benumbs.'

Così lo sguardo mio le facea scorta
La lingua, e poscia tutta la drizzava
In poco d' ora, e lo smarrito volto,
Come amor vuol, così le colorava. 15
Poi ch' ell' avea il parlar così disciolto,
Cominciava a cantar sì che con pena
Da lei avrei mio intento rivolto.
'Io son,' cantava, 'io son dolce Sirena,
Che i marinari in mezzo mar dismago — 20
Tanto son di piacere a sentir piena.
Io volsi Ulisse del suo cammin vago
Al canto mio; e qual meco si aüsa
Rado sen parte, sì tutto l' appago.'
Ancor non era sua bocca richiusa, 25
Quando una donna apparve santa e presta,
Lunghesso me, per far colei confusa.
'O Virgilio, o Virgilio, chi è questa?'
Fieramente diceva; ed ei venia
Con gli occhi fitti pure in quella onesta. 30
L' altra prendeva, e dinanzi l' apria
Fendendo i drappi, e mostravami il ventre;
Quel mi svegliò col puzzo che n' uscia.
Io mossi gli occhi, e il buon Maestro: 'Almen tre
Voci t' ho messe,' dicea. 'Surgi e vieni! 35
Troviam la porta per la qual tu entre.'

12. *Scorta*, 'nimble.'
14. *Smarrito*, 'wan.'
18. *Intento*, 'attention.'
20. *Dismago*, 'unnerve': cf. *Inf.* XXV, 146.
21. *Sentir*, 'hear.'
23. *Qual*, 'whosoever.' — *Si aüsa*, 'abides.'
27. *Lunghesso*, 'close beside': cf. IV, 27; *Inf.* XXIII, 54.
32. Cf. Ezekiel xvi, 37: 'I will . . . discover thy nakedness (*ignominiam*) unto them, that they may see all thy nakedness (*turpitudinem*).'
34. Note the curious rhyme.
35. *Voci*, 'calls.' — *Messe*, 'sent forth.'

Su mi levai, e tutti eran già pieni
  Dell' alto dì i giron del sacro monte,
  Ed andavam col sol nuovo alle reni.
Seguendo lui, portava la mia fronte 40
  Come colui che l' ha di pensier carca,
  Che fa di sè un mezzo arco di ponte,
Quand' io udi': 'Venite, qui si varca,'
  Parlare in modo soave e benigno,
  Qual non si sente in questa mortal marca. 45
Con l' ali aperte che parean di cigno,
  Volseci in su colui che sì parlonne,
  Tra' due pareti del duro macigno.
Mosse le penne poi e ventilonne,
  Qui lugent affermando esser beati, 50
  Ch' avran di consolar l' anime donne.
'Che hai, che pure in ver la terra guati?'
  La Guida mia incominciò a dirmi,
  Poco ambedue dall' Angel sormontati.
Ed io: 'Con tanta suspizion fa irmi 55
  Novella visïon ch' a sè mi piega,
  Sì ch' io non posso dal pensar partirmi.'
'Vedesti,' disse, 'quella antica strega,
  Che sola sopra noi omai si piagne?
  Vedesti come l' uom da lei si slega? 60

39. The poets are now on the north side of the mountain, walking toward the west.
47. *Parlonne = ci parlò.*
48. The 'two walls of hard rock' enclose the stairway cut into the cliff.
49. *Ventilonne = ci ventilò.* Thus one more *P* is effaced from Dante's brow.
50. 'Declaring *them that mourn* to be blessed.'
51. 'Who shall have their souls mistresses (i. e., possessed) of comfort' — a clumsy periphrasis of Mat. v, 4: 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted.' This beatitude is here interpreted as a praise of those who, unlike the slothful, have the courage to face pain.
54. *Amendue . . . sormontati,* 'when both of us had climbed.'
55. *Fa irmi = mi fa ire.*
59. *Sopra noi:* in the three upper circles.

Bastiti, e batti a terra le calcagne!
  Gli occhi rivolgi al logoro che gira
  Lo Rege eterno con le rote magne.'
Quale il falcon che prima ai piè si mira,
  Indi si volge al grido, e si protende 65
  Per lo disio del pasto che là il tira,
Tal mi fec' io, e tal, quanto si fende
  La roccia per dar via a chi va suso,
  N' andai infino ove il cerchiar si prende.
Com' io nel quinto giro fui dischiuso, 70
  Vidi gente per esso che piangea,
  Giacendo a terra tutta volta in giuso.
'*Adhæsit pavimento anima mea!*'
  Senti' dir lor con sì alti sospiri
  Che la parola appena s' intendea. 75
'O eletti di Dio, li cui soffriri
  E giustizia e speranza fan men duri,
  Drizzate noi verso gli alti saliri.'
'Se voi venite dal giacer sicuri,
  E volete trovar la via più tosto, 80
  Le vostre destre sien sempre di furi.'
Così pregò il Poeta, e sì risposto
  Poco dinanzi a noi ne fu; per ch' io
  Nel parlare avvisai l' altro nascosto,
E volsi gli occhi allora al Signor mio; 85

63. The 'lure' of 'the great wheels' is the uplifting influence of the revolving heavens. Cf. XIV, 148–50.
69. *Il cerchiar si prende*, 'the circuit is reached.' Dante climbs to the fifth terrace, the circle of avarice and prodigality.
73. Ps. cxix (Vulg. cxviii), 25: 'My soul cleaveth unto the dust.'
78. *Saliri*, 'ascents.'
81. *Furi* = *fuori*. To keep their right hands on the outer side of the cornice, the poets must walk, as usual, to the right.
84. *Nel parlare*, 'by his speech.' — The speaker's face, turned to the ground, cannot be seen.

Ond' egli m' assentì con lieto cenno
Ciò che chiedea la vista del disio.
Poi ch' io potei di me fare a mio senno,
Trassimi sopra quella creatura,
Le cui parole pria notar mi fenno, 90
Dicendo: 'Spirto, in cui pianger matura
Quel senza il quale a Dio tornar non puossi,
Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura.
Chi fosti, e perchè volti avete i dossi
Al su, mi di', e se vuoi ch' io t' impetri 95
Cosa di là ond' io vivendo mossi.'
Ed egli a me: 'Perchè i nostri diretri
Rivolga il cielo a sè, saprai; ma prima
Scias quod ego fui successor Petri.
Intra Siestri e Chiàveri si adima 100
Una fiumana bella, e del suo nome
Lo titol del mio sangue fa sua cima.
Un mese e poco più prova' io come
Pesa il gran manto a chi dal fango il guarda,
Che piuma sembran tutte l' altre some. 105
La mia conversïone, omè! fu tarda;
Ma come fatto fui Roman Pastore,
Così scopersi la vita bugiarda.
Vidi che lì non si quetava il core,

87. *Vista,* 'look.'
92. 'That without which one cannot return to God' is the fruit of repentance.
97. *Diretri,* 'after part.'
99. 'Know that I was a successor of Peter.' The language of the Church is appropriate in the mouth of a Pope, and the majestic Latin emphasizes, by contrast, his present humiliation. The speaker is Adrian V, of the Fieschi family of Genoa, who held the Papal office for 38 days in 1276.
101. The Lavagna 'descends' into the Gulf of Genoa between the towns of Sestri and Chiaveri. The Fieschi were counts of Lavagna; the name of the river was the 'pinnacle' of their title.
108. 'Then I discovered how false life is.'
109. *Lì:* even in the Papal chair, beyond which no man can climb on earth.

Nè pìu salir poteasi in quella vita; 110
Per che di questa in me s' accese amore.
Fino a quel punto misera e partita
Da Dio anima fui, del tutto avara.
Or, come vedi, qui ne son punita.
Quel ch' avarizia fa, qui si dichiara 115
In purgazion dell' anime converse;
E nulla pena il monte ha più amara.
Sì come l' occhio nostro non s' aderse
In alto, fisso alle cose terrene,
Così giustizia qui a terra il merse. 120
Come avarizia spense a ciascun bene
Lo nostro amore, onde operar perdèsi,
Così giustizia qui stretti ne tiene
Ne' piedi e nelle man legati e presi;
E quanto fia piacer del giusto Sire, 125
Tanto staremo immobili e distesi.'
Io m' era inginocchiato, e volea dire;
Ma com' io cominciai, ed ei s' accorse,
Solo ascoltando, del mio riverire:
'Qual cagion,' disse, 'in giù così ti torse?' 130
Ed io a lui: 'Per vostra dignitate
Mia cosc\u012benza dritto mi rimorse.'
'Drizza le gambe, levati su, frate!'

111. *Questa:* the eternal life.
113. *Del tutto,* 'wholly.'
117. *Più amara,* i. e., more humiliating: cf. *Inf.* VI, 48. The wickedness of avarice is shown by the severity of the penance of the 'converted souls.'
118. *Aderse* (from *adergere*), 'lifted.'
120. *Merse* (from *mergere*), 'sunk.'
121. *A ciascun bene,* 'for all that is good.'
122. *Onde operar perdèsi,* 'so that our activity was lost,' i. e., our good works ceased. — *Perdèsi* = *perdèssi* = *si perdè.* For the rhyme, cf. *Inf.* VIII, 17.
127. *Dire,* 'speak.'
129. *Solo ascoltando:* by the sound alone. — *Riverire:* my reverent position.
132. 'My conscience stung me (for) standing.'

Rispose. 'Non errar! Conservo sono
Teco e con gli altri ad una potestate. 135
Se mai quel santo evangelico suono
Che dice "*Neque nubent*" intendesti,
Ben puoi veder perch' io così ragiono.
Vattene omai! Non vo' che più t' arresti,
Chè la tua stanza mio pianger disagia, 140
Col qual maturo ciò che tu dicesti.
Nepote ho io di là ch' ha nome Alagia,
Buona da sè, pur che la nostra casa
Non faccia lei per esemplo malvagia;
E questa sola di là m' è rimasa.' 145

134. Cf. Rev. xix, 10: 'And I fell at his (the angel's) feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not: I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus.'

137. Mat. xxii, 30: 'For in the resurrection *they neither marry*, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven.' — *Intendesti*, 'hast understood,' i. e., hast interpreted in the broader sense, as meaning that earthly relations are not preserved in the spiritual world.

139. *Vo'* = *voglio*.

140. *Stanza*, 'stay.' — *Disagia*, 'hinders.'

141. Cf. l. 92.

142. Alagia de' Fieschi, the daughter of Adrian's brother Niccolò, was the wife of Marquis Moroello Malaspina and was therefore probably Dante's hostess in 1306.

144. One of the Fieschi, Bonifazio, appears in the circle of gluttony (XXIV, 29); a second, Innocent IV, is mentioned slightingly in Epistola VIII, vii, 118; at least one other probably incurred Dante's displeasure.

CANTO XX

ARGUMENT

As the rueful souls lie flat on the outer edge of the terrace, their faces turned to the ground, they meditate, at the close of all their prayers, comforting examples of virtue and of punished vice, which they now murmur softly to themselves, now cry aloud, according to their mood. By day they recite instances of indifference to wealth, and of the proper use of it; by night, anecdotes of the fatal results of cupidity. Of these last stories, seven are quoted, corresponding to the seven sins which St. Thomas (*Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. cxviii, Art. 8) derives from avarice. With a curse upon the 'old wolf' of immoderateness, Dante invokes that saviour whom the heavens shall send to banish this devourer and restore justice to the world. Once before, in *Inf.* I, 94–111, the havoc done by the 'wolf' was described, and the rescuing 'hound' was foretold. Once again, in *Purg.* XXXIII, 34–51, after a picture of corruption by greed, we find the promise of a divinely ordained reformer; this latter prophecy is linked to our present passage by the repetition of a rhyme in *-eda* (XX, 11–13–15; XXXIII, 35–37–39).

In the prostrate throng is Hugh Capet, king of France from 987 to 996, founder of the Capetian line, whose descendants, in 1300, ruled over France, Spain, and Naples. Before that year four Philips and four Lewises (as well as a Robert and a Henry), sprung from him, had mounted the throne of France. In Dante's day he was often confounded with his father, Hugh the Great, Duke of France, who really governed the country in the time of the last Carolingians; in our poem these two persons are fused into one. According to a generally accepted but incorrect tradition, Hugh the Great came of a family of rich Parisian cattle dealers or butchers. When 'the old kings' — the offspring of Charlemagne — 'died out' with Louis V, there remained of the elder dynasty only Charles, duke of Lorraine, son of Louis IV; the feudal lords refused to accept him as sovereign, and crowned Hugh Capet in his stead. For Dante's assertion that the last of the Carolingians became a monk, 'a devotee in gray clothes' (l. 54), there is no historical warrant. Here again he seems to have followed a confused liter-

ary tradition. In the Old French poem on the *Mort Aimeri de Narbonne*, the 'Emperor Louis,' speaking of the usurpation of Hugh Capet, announces his determination to quit the world (ll. 50-2):

> ' "Seignor," fet il, "la couronne prenez,
> Cui vous plera en fetes couronner;
> Rendus serai a .i. de ces autez." '

Hugh Capet, in Dante's account, gained such firm control of the state that his son was promoted to the 'widowed crown,' and from him descended the 'consecrated bones' of all the subsequent royal anointed. In reality, Robert I was almost immediately associated with his father in the government, and was crowned in 988. While the means and the domain of his family were comparatively small, — Hugh declares, — it remained insignificant but harmless; but when, by trickery, Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, contrived to marry Beatrice, heiress of Provence, and so secured 'the great Provençal dowry,' his descendants lost all sense of shame. Since then their history has been a chronicle of crimes, in which Philip IV, the Fair (VII, 109), has played the leading part. England was robbed, 'by violence and by falsehood,' of Ponthieu, Normandy, and Gascony. Charles of Anjou (VII, 113, 124) came to Italy in 1265 to wrest the kingdom of Sicily from Manfred, who was defeated and slain the next year (III, 112); in 1268, in Naples, after the battle of Tagliacozzo (*Inf.* XXVIII, 17), he put to death Conradin, a lad of sixteen, grandson of Frederick II; he was accused also of having instigated, for political reasons, the poisoning of St. Thomas Aquinas, who died in 1274 on his journey from Naples to the Council of Lyons. Another Charles, continues Hugh Capet, — Charles of Valois, called Lackland or *Senza terra*, brother of Philip IV, — will come out of France in 1301, armed only with treachery ('the lance with which Judas tilted'), to betray Florence into the hands of the Blacks and to contend vainly with Frederick of Aragon (VII, 119) in Sicily. A third Charles, — the Cripple of Jerusalem, Charles II, king of Apulia, son of Charles of Anjou (VII, 127; *Par.* XIX, 127), — after having been taken prisoner in 1284 in a sea fight in the Bay of Naples by Ruggero di Lauria, the admiral of Peter of Aragon (VII, 112), will sell his young daughter Beatrice in marriage to the old Marquis of Ferrara, Azzo VIII d'Este. But the crowning infamy of the race, that which shall throw into the shade all past and future outrage, shall be the seizure of Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni in the Roman Campagna, in 1303, by Guillaume

de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna. Seated on his throne and clad in the Papal raiment, Boniface was roughly taken prisoner; he was then conveyed to Rome, where he was wounded in the head, and, after a little while, died of rage and shame. In spite of Dante's hostility to Boniface, whom he regarded as an unworthy prelate (*Inf.* XIX, 52–7), the enemy of Florence and the author of his own misfortunes (*Par.* XVII, 49–51), this humiliation of the head of the Church shocked him beyond measure. The fate of Christ — so it seemed to the poet — was renewed in that of his vicar, crucified, not between two thieves condemned to die with him, but between two mocking villains — Guillaume and Sciarra — who were allowed to live. These men were bearers of the *fleur-de-lis*, creatures of Philip the Fair. That 'modern Pilate,' not satisfied even with this crime, directed his 'greedy sails,' like a pirate ship, toward the Order of the Templars; having brought against that body a false accusation of heresy, and having arrested all the Templars in 1307, without waiting for Papal authorization, he turned them over to the Inquisition, possessed himself of their treasure, and finally caused the abolition of their order in 1312. Such is the 'evil plant' of which Hugh Capet was the root. By means of its control of the Papacy, it 'overshadows all Christendom,' and 'seldom is good fruit plucked therefrom.' If the cities of Douai, Lille, Ghent, and Bruges had the strength, they would soon wreak vengeance on Philip the Fair, who conquered Flanders in 1297. That vengeance came, in fact, in 1302, when Philip's troops were crushingly defeated in Bruges and Courtrai, and the French were driven from the country.

Contra miglior voler voler mal pugna;
  Onde contra il piacer mio, per piacerli,
  Trassi dell' acqua non sazia la spugna.
Mossimi; e il Duca mio si mosse per li
  Lochi spediti pur lungo la roccia, 5
  Come si va per muro stretto ai merli.

1. The 'better will' is that of Adrian V: cf. XIX, 139.
2. *Piacerli* = *piacergli*.
4. For the rhyme of weak words, cf. XVII, 55.
5. *Spediti*, 'unoccupied.'
6. The poets step carefully along on the inner side of the cornice, close to the upright cliff, just as soldiers march on the top of a narrow rampart, close to the battlements. Such battlemented walls still surround Carcassonne and Aigues-Mortes, and may be seen also at Avignon.

Chè la gente, che fonde a goccia a goccia
  Per gli occhi il mal che tutto il mondo occupa,
  Dall' altra parte in fuor troppo s' approccia.
Maledetta sie tu, antica lupa, 10
  Che più che tutte l' altre bestie hai preda,
  Per la tua fame senza fine cupa!
O ciel, nel cui girar par che si creda
  Le condizion di quaggiù trasmutarsi,
  Quando verrà per cui questa disceda? 15
Noi andavam con passi lenti e scarsi,
  Ed io attento all' ombre ch' io sentia
  Pietosamente piangere e lagnarsi;
E per ventura udi': 'Dolce Maria!'
  Dinanzi a noi chiamar così nel pianto 20
  Come fa donna che in partorir sia.
E seguitar: 'Povera fosti tanto
  Quanto veder si può per quell' ospizio
  Ove sponesti il tuo portato santo.'
Seguentemente intesi: 'O buon Fabbrizio, 25
  Con povertà volesti anzi virtute
  Che gran ricchezza posseder con vizio.'
Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute
  Ch' io mi trassi oltre per aver contezza
  Di quello spirto, onde parean venute. 30
Esso parlava ancor della larghezza
  Che fece Niccolao alle pulcelle,

8. *Occùpa*, 'possesses.'
12. *Cupa*, 'hollow.'
15. *Per cui*, '(he) by whose means.' — *Disceda*, 'shall depart.'
23. *Ospizio:* the humble stable of Bethlehem (Luke ii, 7).
24. *Portato*, 'burden.'
25. Caius Fabricius Luscinius, the Roman consul famous for his incorruptibility, who refused the bribes of the Samnites: *Conv.*, IV, v, 107–10; *Mon.*, II, v, 90–9. Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 843–4.
29. *Contezza*, 'acquaintance.'
32. St. Nicholas, bishop of Mira in the fourth century. According to the

Per condurre ad onor lor giovinezza.
'O anima che tanto ben favelle,
Dimmi chi fosti,' dissi, 'e perchè sola 35
Tu queste degne lode rinnovelle?
Non fia senza mercè la tua parola,
S' io ritorno a compier lo cammin corto
Di quella vita che al termine vola.'
Ed egli: 'Io 'l ti dirò, non per conforto 40
Ch' io attenda di là, ma perchè tanta
Grazia in te luce prima che sii morto.
Io fui radice della mala pianta
Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia
Sì che buon frutto rado se ne schianta. 45
Ma, se Doagio, Lilla, Guanto e Bruggia
Potesser, tosto ne saria vendetta;
Ed io la cheggio a lui che tutto giuggia.
Chiamato fui di là Ugo Ciapetta.
Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi, 50
Per cui novellamente Francia è retta.
Figlio fu' io d' un beccaio di Parigi.
Quando li regi antichi venner meno
Tutti (fuor ch' un, renduto in panni bigi),
Trovaimi stretto nelle mani il freno 55
Del governo del regno, e tanta possa
Di nuovo acquisto, e sì d' amici pieno,
Ch' alla corona vedova promossa

legend, he secretly threw, on three successive nights, into the window of his neighbor's house enough money to provide dowries for the three daughters who would otherwise have been forced by poverty to a life of dishonor.

48. *Giuggia*, 'judges.'

49. *Ciapetta:* in different French dialects the name had two forms, *Chapet* and *Capet*.

51. *Novellamente*, 'of late.'

52. *Beccaio* counts as two syllables: cf. XIII, 22; XIV, 66.

55. *Stretto*, 'tight.'

La testa di mio figlio fu, dal quale
Cominciar di costor le sacrate ossa. 60
Mentre che la gran dote Provenzale
Al sangue mio non tolse la vergogna,
Poco valea, ma pur non facea male.
Lì cominciò con forza e con menzogna
La sua rapina; e poscia, per ammenda, 65
Pontì e Normandia prese e Guascogna.
Carlo venne in Italia, e, per ammenda,
Vittima fe' di Curradino; e poi
Ripinse al ciel Tommaso, per ammenda.
Tempo vegg' io, non molto dopo ancoi, 70
Che tragge un altro Carlo fuor di Francia,
Per far conoscer meglio e sè e i suoi.
Senz' arme n' esce solo, e con la lancia
Con la qual giostrò Giuda; e quella ponta
Sì ch' a Fiorenza fa scoppiar la pancia. 75
Quindi non terra, ma peccato ed onta
Guadagnerà, per sè tanto più grave
Quanto più lieve simil danno conta.
L' altro, che già uscì preso di nave,
Veggio vender sua figlia, e patteggiarne, 80
Come fanno i corsar dell' altre schiave.
O avarizia, che puoi tu più farne,
Poscia ch' hai lo mio sangue a te sì tratto
Che non si cura della propria carne?
Perchè men paia il mal futuro e il fatto, 85
Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,

70. *Ancoi,* 'the present day': cf. XIII, 52.
74. *Ponta,* 'aims.'
79. *Altro:* sc., *Carlo.*
80. *Patteggiarne,* 'haggle over her.'
85. 'To make future and past wrong seem the less.'
86. *Alagna* = *Anagni.* — *Fiordaliso,* 'fleur-de-lis.'

E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso;
Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e il fele,
E tra vivi ladroni esser anciso. 90
Veggio il nuovo Pilato sì crudele
Che ciò nol sazia, ma, senza decreto,
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.
O Signor mio, quando sarò io lieto
A veder la vendetta, che, nascosa, 95
Fa dolce l' ira tua nel tuo segreto? —
Ciò ch' io dicea di quell' unica sposa
Dello Spirito Santo (e che ti fece
Verso me volger per alcuna chiosa)
Tanto è risposta a tutte nostre prece 100
Quanto il dì dura; ma, quand' e' s' annotta,
Contrario suon prendemo in quella vece.
Noi ripetiam Pigmalïon allotta,
Cui traditore e ladro e patricida
Fece la voglia sua dell' oro ghiotta; 105
E la miseria dell' avaro Mida,

87. *Catto* (Latin *captus*) = *preso*.
88. Cf. Mat. xxvii, 28–30.
89. Cf. Mat. xxvii, 34: 'They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall.'
90. Cf. Mat. xxvii, 38: 'Then there were two thieves crucified with him, one on the right hand, and another on the left.'
91. *Nuovo Pilato:* Philip the Fair, who had played the part of Pilate toward Christ's vicar.
92. *Decreto:* Papal decree.
94. Cf. Ps. lviii, 10 (Vulg. lvii, 11): 'The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance.'
97. Having replied to Dante's first question (l. 35), Hugh proceeds to answer his second (l. 36). — Cf. Mat. i, 20: 'that which is conceived in her (Mary) is of the Holy Ghost.'
99. *Chiosa,* 'gloss,' explanation: cf. *Inf.* XV, 89.
100. *Tanto* is correlative with the *quanto* of l. 101: 'as long as.' — *Risposta,* 'refrain.'
103. Pygmalion, king of Tyre, brother of Dido, killed Dido's husband Sichæus (*Inf.* V, 62) for the sake of his wealth: *Æn.*, I, 343–59.
106. Midas, king of Phrygia, asked of Bacchus that all he touched might be

Che seguì alla sua domanda ingorda,
Per la qual sempre convien che si rida.
Del folle Acan ciascun poi si ricorda,
Come furò le spoglie, sì che l' ira 110
Di Josuè qui par ch' ancor lo morda.
Indi accusiam col marito Safira;
Lodiamo i calci ch' ebbe Elïodoro;
Ed in infamia tutto il monte gira
Polinestor ch' ancise Polidoro. 115
Ultimamente ci si grida: "Crasso,
Dicci, chè il sai, di che sapore è l' oro?"
Talor parla l' un alto, e l' altro basso,
Secondo l' affezion ch' a dir ci sprona
Ora a maggiore, ed ora a minor passo. 120
Però al ben che il dì ci si ragiona
Dianzi non er' io sol; ma qui da presso
Non alzava la voce altra persona.'

turned to gold, but was compelled to pray for a revocation of the gift, and was finally presented with ass's ears: *Met.*, xi, 85–193.

107. *Che*, 'which,' referring to *miseria* (l. 106): his food and drink had turned to gold.

109. Achan, having stolen and hidden some of the forbidden spoils of Jericho, was stoned to death at Joshua's command: Joshua vi, 17–19; vii.

112. Ananias and his wife Sapphira, having sold a piece of land belonging to the apostles, and withheld a part of the price for their own use, were rebuked by Peter and fell down dead: Acts v, 1–10.

113. Heliodorus, minister of King Seleucus, having entered the temple of Jerusalem to take possession of the treasure, was kicked half to death by a mysterious horse: 2 Macc. iii, 7, 25–7.

115. Polymnestor (or Polymestor), king of Thrace, murdered and robbed his young brother-in-law, Polydorus, who had been entrusted to him by Priam; Hecuba, maddened by the death of her son, tore out the traitor's eyes and killed him (*Inf.* XXX, 16–21): *Met.*, XIII, 429 ff.; cf. *Æn.*, III, 41–57.

117. Marcus Lucinius Crassus, triumvir with Cæsar and Pompey, was famous in antiquity and in the Middle Ages for his wealth and his greed. It is related that when he was defeated and slain by the Parthians, their king had molten gold poured down his throat, saying: 'Thou hast thirsted for gold, now drink it!' Cf. Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, VI, xiii.

119. Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, X, xxxiii: 'Omnes affectus spiritus nostri pro sua diversitate habent proprios modos in voce atque cantu.'

121. *Il dì*, 'by day.' — *Ci*, 'here.'

Noi eravam partiti già da esso,
E brigavam di soperchiar la strada 125
Tanto quanto al poter n' era permesso.
Quand' io senti', come cosa che cada,
Tremar lo monte; onde mi prese un gelo,
Qual prender suol colui che a morte vada.
Certo non si scotea sì forte Delo, 130
Pria che Latona in lei facesse il nido
A partorir li due occhi del cielo.
Poi cominciò da tutte parti un grido
Tal che il Maestro in ver di me si feo,
Dicendo: 'Non dubbiar, mentr' io ti guido.' 135
'*Gloria in excelsis*,' tutti, '*Deo!*'
Dicean, per quel ch' io da' vicin compresi,
Onde intender lo grido si poteo.
Noi istavamo immobili e sospesi,
Come i pastor che prima udir quel canto, 140
Fin che il tremar cessò, ed ei compièsi.
Poi ripigliammo nostro cammin santo,
Guardando l' ombre che giacean per terra,
Tornate già in sull' usato pianto.
Nulla ignoranza mai con tanta guerra 145
Mi fe' desideroso di sapere
(Se la memoria mia in ciò non erra)

124. Cf. *Inf.* XXXII, 124.
125. *Brigavam*, 'we were striving.'
130. Delos, before Latona took refuge there to bring forth Apollo and Diana (sun and moon, 'the two eyes of heaven'), was a wandering island: *Met.*, VI, 189–92; *Æn.*, III, 73–7.
136. Luke ii, 14: 'Glory to God in the highest.'
137. *Per*, 'judging from.'
138. *Onde*, 'of whom.'
140. Luke ii, 9.
141. *Ei:* the song. — *Compièsi* = *si compiè:* cf. XIX, 122.
145. Cf. Wisdom of Solomon xiv, 22: 'they lived in the great war of ignorance.'

Quanta pare'mi allor pensando avere;
  Nè per la fretta domandarn' er' oso,
  Nè per me lì potea cosa vedere. 150
Così m' andava timido e pensoso.

148. *Pare'mi* = *mi pareva.*
149. *Er' oso* = *osava:* cf. XI, 126.

CANTO XXI

ARGUMENT

Left, like Dante himself, in agonizing suspense at the end of the preceding canto, we now learn why the mountain trembled and why all the souls up and down its slope cried out together. This rejoicing occurs whenever any spirit has completed its penance and feels itself free to rise to Heaven. St. Thomas, and others after him, distinguished the 'absolute' from the 'conditioned' will. The absolute will is a constant inclination toward the good; the conditioned will is a modification of this inclination by circumstances. When we sin, we follow, not our absolute, but our conditioned will, which has been perverted by false appearances. So when we make atonement, it is not the absolute will that seeks punishment, but the conditioned will, shaped by the knowledge that good can come through penance alone. A soul in Purgatory is held there only by its own conditioned will. As soon as this conditioned will, or desire, coincides with the absolute and eternal inclination to seek blessedness, the penitent knows that his expiation is over and he is at liberty to rise. 'The only proof of purity is the will itself, which suddenly finds the soul quite free to change its company, and by its volition enables it to do so': ll. 61–3. 'Before that moment (*prima*), to be sure (*ben*), the soul wills absolutely to rise (*vuol*), but it is prevented by its desire or conditioned will (*ma non lascia il talento*), which divine justice inclines to suffering (*che pone al tormento*), its operation being now contrary to the tendency of the absolute will (*contra voglia*), just as was the case when it sinned (*come fu al peccar*)': ll. 64–6.

Purgatory itself, like the Garden of Eden, is exempt from physical change, and only spiritual causes operate there. 'The law of the mountain never experiences anything that is unregulated or abnormal': ll. 40–2. 'In this place there is an absence of all innovation; out of that which Heaven receives from itself into itself' — namely, out of spirit, which originates in God and returns to him — 'there may arise an occasion' for the interruption of the ordinary course, 'but from naught else': ll. 43–5. A spiritual phenomenon — the release of a soul — may move both spirits and

earth to a display of gladness, but even this manifestation is in accordance with the everlasting nature of the sacred mount. Although the peak does not rise above the earth's mantle of air, its upper part, like the Isle de Voirre described in the Old French *Erec* (ll. 1947–51), is beyond the reach of atmospheric change. As Lucan says, in *Pharsalia*, II, 271–3:

> 'Nubes excedit Olympus
> Lege Deum. Minimas rerum discordia turbat;
> Pacem summa tenent.'

Wet vapors are unknown; 'no rain, hail, snow, dew, nor frost falls any higher up than the short stairway of three steps,' where is the entrance to Purgatory: ll. 46–8. Dry vapors, which cause lightning, meteors, comets, wind, and earthquake, are absent also. 'Lower down on the slope, the earth may quake, much or little; but up here its shaking was never due,' — as it is elsewhere, — 'to the mysterious confinement of wind in the belly of the globe': ll. 55–7. 'It trembles when any soul feels itself clean enough to arise and start on its ascent, and such a shout' as its companions have just raised 'accompanies' the upward faring spirit: 58–60.

The penitent whose liberation from the fifth circle has produced such a commotion is Statius, a famous Latin poet of the first century of our era. His two great epics, the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleid* (the second unfinished), highly artificial and ornate in style, were assiduously studied throughout the Middle Ages, and were looked upon as models of rhetorical elegance. Dante, who knew them thoroughly, must have found in them a vast storehouse of classical mythology; with characteristic gratitude he honored Statius for the good he had derived from him. A third work, a miscellany known as the *Silvæ*, in which the author names Naples as his birthplace, had not been recovered in the 14th century, and Dante and his contemporaries seem to have confounded the epic poet with another Statius, a certain rhetorician from Toulouse. The admiration of Statius for Virgil is attested by a passage at the close of the *Thebaid* (XII, 816 ff.), in which he bids his narrative 'follow, at a distance, the divine *Æneid*, and ever adore its steps.' The meeting between these ancient poets is described by Dante in a vein of demure humor quickened by love. At the end of the canto is a scene that reminds one of the encounter of Virgil and Sordello (VI, 75); but whereas Sordello embraces his brother Mantuan, it is apparently impossible for Statius to clasp the feet of Virgil.

The real Statius was a pagan, and the story of his conversion,

related in the next canto, is, as far as we know, of Dante's invention, although he may have found it suggested in some lost source. The author of the *Thebaid* represents, in the *Commedia*, Reason illumined by Faith, and seemingly has the mission of elucidating certain questions that transcend unassisted Reason; he is doubtless to be regarded, then, as an auxiliary to Virgil and a secondary guide to Beatrice, or, in other words, as an intermediary between human Reason and Revelation. At the same time he serves as an example of a soul in transit from earth to Heaven. With Dante's extraordinary love of symmetry, it is rather surprising that he should have furnished only two great conductors for the three journeys. One is almost tempted to surmise that in his original conception Statius played a more important part.

For St. Thomas on the absolute and the conditioned will of souls in Purgatory, see *Summa Theologiæ*, Tertia, Suppl., App., Qu. ii, Art. 2. St. Thomas touches upon the double will in other parts of the *Summa*: Prima, xix, 6, xli, 2, lxxxiii, 4; Prima Secundæ, lxxvii, 7; Tertia, xviii, 1, 3, 4, xxi, 3. — For the absence of atmospheric change, cf. *Thebaid*, II, 32–40. For Statius: E. Sacchi, *Dante e Stazio* in *Giorn. dant.*, VIII, 449; *D'Ovidio*[2], 554; R. Valerio, *Stazio nella scala mistica della 'Divina Commedia,'* 1906. — Compare with the passage from Lucan above quoted the following lines from Oliver Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*:

> 'As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
> Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
> Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
> Eternal sunshine settles on its head.'

La sete natural che mai non sazia,
  Se non con l' acqua onde la femminetta
  Sammaritana domandò la grazia,
Mi travagliava, e pungeami la fretta
  Per la impacciata via retro al mio Duca, 5
  E condoleami alla giusta vendetta.
Ed ecco, — sì come ne scrive Luca

1. Cf. *Conv.*, I, i, 1–4: 'Siccome dice il Filosofo nel principio della Prima Filosofia (Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, I, i) "tutti gli uomini naturalmente desiderano di sapere."'

2. *Acqua*: the 'water' of truth. Cf. John iv, 7–26, especially 13–15: 'Jesus . . . said unto her, Whosoever . . . drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst. . . . The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not.'

6. *Condoleami*, 'I was sorrowing.'

7. Luke xxiv, 13–15: 'And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus . . . and it came to pass, that, while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.' One of the two was Cleopas; the other is unnamed.

Che Cristo apparve ai due ch' erano in via,
Già surto fuor della sepulcral buca, —
Ci apparve un' ombra, e retro a noi venia 10
Da piè guardando la turba che giace;
Nè ci addemmo di lei, sì parlò pria,
Dicendo: 'Frati miei, Dio vi dea pace.'
Noi ci volgemmo subito; e Virgilio
Rendègli il cenno ch' a ciò si conface, 15
Poi cominciò: 'Nel beato concilio
Ti ponga in pace la verace corte,
Che me rilega nell' eterno esilio.'
'Come!' diss' egli, e parte andavam forte,
'Se voi siete ombre che Dio su non degni, 20
Chi v' ha per la sua scala tanto scorte?'
E il Dottor mio: 'Se tu riguardi i segni
Che questi porta e che l' angel profila,
Ben vedrai che coi buon convien ch' ei regni.
Ma perchè lei che dì e notte fila 25
Non gli avea tratta ancora la conocchia
Che Cloto impone a ciascuno e compila,
L' anima sua, ch' è tua e mia sirocchia,

11. *Da piè*, 'at our feet.' — *Guardando*, 'as we were watching.'
12. *Ci addemmo*, 'we were aware.' — *Sì*, 'until': cf. *Inf.* XIX, 44; XXIX, 30.
13. Cf. Luke xxiv, 36: 'And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.'
15. *Rendè* = *rese*. — *Cenno*, 'gesture.' — *Si conface*, 'is suited.'
19. *Parte*, 'the while.'
22. *Segni:* the letters on Dante's brow.
23. *Profila*, 'traces.'
24. *Regni:* 'Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world' (Mat. xxv, 34).
25. Lachesis, the second of the three Fates, spins the thread of life, which Clotho prepares and Atropos cuts off.
26. *Tratta . . . la conocchia*, 'drawn off the distaff-full.'
27. *Impone a ciascuno e compila*, 'loads and packs for every man.'
28. *Sirocchia*, 'sister': although it is immortal, like ourselves, it still has mortal sight. Cf. Verlaine, in *Romances sans paroles:* 'Ames sœurs que nous sommes.'

Venendo su, non potea venir sola;
Però ch' al nostro modo non adocchia. 30
Ond' io fui tratto fuor dell' ampia gola
D' inferno per mostrargli, e mostrerolli
Oltre, quanto il potrà menar mia scuola.
Ma dinne, se tu sai, perchè tai crolli
Diè dianzi il monte, e perchè tutti ad una 35
Parver gridare infino ai suoi piè molli?'
Sì mi diè, domandando, per la cruna
Del mio disio che pur con la speranza
Si fece la mia sete men digiuna.
Quei cominciò: 'Cosa non è che sanza 40
Ordine senta la religïone
Della montagna, o che sia fuor d' usanza.
Libero è qui da ogni alterazione.
Di quel che il ciel da sè in sè riceve
Esserci puote, e non d' altro, cagione; 45
Per che non pioggia, non grando, non neve,
Non rugiada, non brina più su cade
Che la scaletta dei tre gradi breve.
Nuvole spesse non paion, nè rade,
Nè corruscar, nè figlia di Taumante, 50
Che di là cangia sovente contrade.

30. *Adocchia*, 'sees': cf. xv, 134–5.
32. *Mostrerolli* = *gli mostrerò*.
33. *Scuola*, 'teaching,' the subject of *potrà*.
35. *Ad una*, 'together': cf. IV, 17.
36. *Ai suoi piè molli*, 'its moist feet': the base of the mountain.
37, 38. 'With this question he so threaded the needle's eye of my desire,' etc. — *Pur*, 'merely.'
40. *Cosa non è*, 'there is not a thing.' — *Che* is the object of *senta*, of which *religione* (l. 41) is the subject.
43. *È* is impersonal, 'it is': cf. XIV, 94.
45. *Esserci puote*, 'there may be.'
50. *Corruscar*: lightning. — Thaumas's daughter is Iris, the rainbow, Juno's messenger: cf. *Æn.*, IX, 1–5; *Met.*, I, 270–1; XIV, 845–6; etc.
51. The rainbow, in the land of the living, appears sometimes in the east, sometimes in the west.

Secco vapor non surge più avante
Ch' al sommo dei tre gradi ch' io parlai,
Ov' ha il vicario di Pietro le piante.
Trema forse più giù poco od assai; 55
Ma per vento che in terra si nasconda
(Non so come), quassù non tremò mai:
Tremaci quando alcuna anima monda
Sentesi, sì che surga o che si mova
Per salir su, e tal grido seconda. 60
Della mondizia sol voler fa prova,
Che tutta libera a mutar convento
L' alma sorprende, e di voler le giova.
Prima vuol ben; ma non lascia il talento,
Che divina giustizia, contra voglia 65
(Come fu al peccar) pone al tormento.
Ed io, che son giaciuto a questa doglia
Cinquecento anni e più, pur mo sentii
Libera volontà di miglior soglia.
Però sentisti il tremoto, e li pii 70
Spiriti per lo monte render lode
A quel Signor, che tosto su gl' invii.'
Così ne disse; e però ch' ei si gode
Tanto del ber quant' è grande la sete,

53. Cf. IX, 100–4.
60. *Seconda*, 'accompanies': cf. XVI, 33.
61. *Sol voler*, 'the will alone.' — *Fa prova*, 'gives proof.'
62. *Che* (referring to *voler*) is subject of *sorprende* (of which *alma* is object) and of *giova*.
63. *E di voler le giova*, 'and by its volition helps it (the soul).'
65. *Che* is the object, *giustizia* the subject, of *pone* (l. 66).
66. *Come fu al peccar*, 'as it was in sinning': i. e., *contra voglia*, opposed to the absolute will.
68. Statius, who died near the close of the first century of our era, has passed a little more than 1200 years on the Island of Purgatory; of these, upwards of 400 were spent in the circle of sloth (XXII, 92), and over 500 in the circle of avarice and prodigality. — *Pur mo*, 'only now.'
72. *Che tosto su gl' invii*, 'who, I pray, will soon speed them upward.'
73. *Ei si gode*, 'one enjoys.'

Non saprei dir quant' ei mi fece prode. 75
E il savio Duca: 'Omai veggio la rete
Che qui vi piglia, e come si scalappia,
Per che ci trema, e di che congaudete.
Ora chi fosti piacciati ch' io sappia;
E perchè tanti secoli giaciuto 80
Qui sei, nelle parole tue mi cappia.'
'Nel tempo che il buon Tito con l' aiuto
Del sommo Rege vendicò le fora
Ond' uscì il sangue per Giuda venduto,
Col nome che più dura e più onora 85
Era io di là,' rispose quello spirto,
'Famoso assai, ma non con fede ancora.
Tanto fu dolce mio vocale spirto
Che, Tolosano, a sè mi trasse Roma,
Dove mertai le tempie ornar di mirto. 90
Stazio la gente ancor di là mi noma.
Cantai di Tebe, e poi del grande Achille,
Ma caddi in via con la seconda soma.
Al mio ardor fur seme le faville
(Che mi scaldar) della divina fiamma 95
Onde sono allumati più di mille —
Dell' *Eneïda* dico, la qual mamma

75. *Quant' ei mi fece prode,* 'how much good he did me.'
76. Cf. Lamentations of Jeremiah i, 13: 'he hath spread a net for my feet.' Also Ezekiel xii, 13.
77. *Si scalappia,* 'it is unmeshed,' i. e., one escapes from it.
81. *Cappia,* 'may it be contained.'
82. The capture of Jerusalem by the Emperor Titus, in the year 70, was regarded as a vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews. See Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos,* VII, iii, ix. Cf. *Par.* VI, 92; VII, 19 ff.
83. *Fora = fori,* 'wounds' in Christ's hands, feet, and side, 'whence issued the blood sold by Judas.'
85. *Nome:* the 'name' of poet. Cf. *Inf.* IV, 91–3.
89. *Tolosano,* 'though I was from Toulouse.' — Cf. Juvenal, *Satires,* VII, 82 ff., for the popularity of Statius in Rome.
90. *Mertai = meritai.*
92. Statius did not live to finish the *Achilleid.*

Fummi, e fummi nutrice poetando;
Senz' essa non fermai peso di dramma.
E, per esser vivuto di là quando 100
Visse Virgilio, assentirei un sole
Più che non deggio al mio uscir di bando.'
Volser Virgilio a me queste parole
Con viso che tacendo disse: 'Taci!'
Ma non può tutto la virtù che vuole; 105
Chè riso e pianto son tanto seguaci
Alla passion da che ciascun si spicca
Che men seguon voler nei più veraci.
Io pur sorrisi, come l' uom ch' ammicca;
Per che l' ombra si tacque, e riguardommi 110
Negli occhi, ove il sembiante più si ficca;
E, 'Se tanto lavoro in bene assommi,'
Disse, 'perchè la tua faccia testeso
Un lampeggiar di riso dimostrommi?'
Or son io d' una parte e d' altra preso: 115
L' una mi fa tacer, l' altra scongiura
Ch' io dica; ond' io sospiro, e sono inteso
Dal mio Maestro, e: 'Non aver paura,'
Mi disse, 'di parlar; ma parla, e digli
Quel ch' ei domanda con cotanta cura.' 120
Ond' io: 'Forse che tu ti maravigli,
Antico spirto, del rider ch' io fei;

99. *Fermai,* 'I balanced.'
101. *Un sole:* a year. — Virgil died in 19 B. C.; Statius, more than a century later.
105. *La virtù che vuole,* 'the faculty that wills,' the will power.
107. *Passion,* 'emotion.' — *Si spicca,* 'springs.'
108. 'That they are least obedient to the will in the most truthful men.'
109. *Ammicca,* 'signals with his eyes.'
111. *Sembiante,* 'expression.' Cf. *Conv.*, III, viii, 80–90.
112. *Se . . . assommi,* 'as thou hopest to complete': cf. II, 16.
113. *Testeso,* 'just now.'
115. For the use of the present tense, for vividness, cf. *Par.* XXI, 46–8.

Ma più d' ammirazion vo' che ti pigli.
Questi, che guida in alto gli occhi miei,
È quel Virgilio dal qual tu togliesti 125
Forza a cantar degli uomini e de' Dei.
Se cagione altra al mio rider credesti,
Lasciala per non vera esser, e credi
Quelle parole che di lui dicesti.'
Già si chinava ad abbracciar li piedi 130
Al mio Dottor; ma egli disse: 'Frate,
Non far, chè tu se' ombra, ed ombra vedi.'
Ed ei surgendo: 'Or puoi la quantitate
Comprender dell' amor ch' a te mi scalda,
Quando dismento nostra vanitate, 135
Trattando l' ombre come cosa salda.'

128. *Credi*, 'believe' that the real cause was . . .

CANTO XXII

ARGUMENT

In his fourth Eclogue, Virgil rejoices in the conclusion of peace during the consulate of his protector, Caius Asinius Pollio, under the second triumvirate; and, in strangely obscure language, celebrates the birth of a son to Pollio himself. The last of the periods predicted by the Cumæan Sibyl has come, he declares — the return to the golden age, which was to be restored after the ages of silver, bronze, and iron. A vast cycle of years is starting afresh. The virgin Astræa, goddess of Justice, the last of the gods to forsake mankind, is now returning, with the good old times when Saturn, father of Jupiter, ruled the world. A new offspring is sent down from high Heaven. Verses 4–7, the last three of which are translated by Dante in ll. 70–2 of this canto, run as follows:

> 'Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas:
> Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo;
> Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
> Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto.'

Early Christian writers often discussed the question whether the Sibyls were truly inspired, and the belief was tolerably common that, although these prophetesses were possessed by demons, God occasionally allowed them, in consideration of their virginity, to foretell the truth. From the fourth, well into the sixteenth century, the verses just cited were generally regarded as a genuine announcement of the coming of Christ, unwittingly formulated by Virgil some forty years before the event. According to a pious legend recorded by Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo*, I, vii, 137 (ed. 1896), three persecutors of Christians, suddenly illumined by these verses, were turned from paganism to the true religion. Dante represents Statius as having been converted in the same way, but as having concealed his new faith and succored his fellow-believers by stealth. Thus another legend, cited by Torraca, 518, pictures a sister of the Emperor Domitian as secretly visiting and comforting imprisoned Christians and listening to the sermons of St. Paul. We may compare also the story

of Joseph of Arimathea, who, according to John xix, 38, was 'a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews.'

While the effectiveness of this hidden conversion, as a tribute to Virgil, and its allegorical appropriateness, in a figure symbolic of Reason enlightened by Faith, are obvious enough, we have no clue to the causes that led our author to select Statius for this experience. Nothing in the life or works of the Latin poet suggests it. Nor do we know why Dante chose to make Statius a spendthrift — for as such he reveals himself in the present canto. Torraca, 516, calls attention to a couple of interesting though rather unsubstantial possibilities. But whatever may have occasioned the attribution of prodigality to the author of the *Thebaid*, it seems likely that Dante blamed himself for this vice and ascribed to Statius some of his own feelings and ideas. Was it not our poet himself who really discovered a mysterious warning in the whimsical distortion of Virgil's apostrophe to the 'auri sacra fames' (ll. 37–42)? We know that Dante, before his exile, incurred heavy debts, and we know that he was a close friend of the happy-go-lucky Forese Donati, who appears in the next canto. When he leaves the circle of spendthrifts, he is 'lighter than at the other outlets' (XXII, 7). The insistence, both in Hell and in Purgatory, upon the doctrine that prodigality is just as much a sin as avarice, — although people do not think so (ll. 46–8), — may be accounted for in part by a desire to illustrate the Aristotelian arrangement of vices in pairs of extremes; but it appears to have behind it also some more cogent and personal reason. It is Statius, the prodigal, who asserts (ll. 49–51) that each sin is coupled with its opposite, although this scheme is carried out nowhere else in Purgatory or Hell. Many little indications, in fact, combine to suggest that Dante was eager to protect his readers from the consequences of an insidious vice from which he had miraculously escaped.

The next vice on the stairway of purification is gluttony, and the proper discipline is rigid abstinence, which, embittered by continual exposure to temptation, wastes the penitent to skin and bone. As, in the *Visio Sancti Pauli*, the souls of those who neglected fasts are tantalized by fruits, so Dante's gluttons have to pass, in their circuit, two fruit-trees moistened by waterfalls. These trees, with the large branches at the top and the small ones at the bottom, are so shaped that no one can climb up — a symbol of prohibition. From their foliage issue voices proclaiming examples of temperance and intemperance.

Già era l' Angel retro a noi rimaso —
L' Angel che n' avea volti al sesto giro,
Avendomi dal viso un colpo raso —
E quei ch' hanno a giustizia lor disiro
Detto n' avea *Beati*, e le sue voci 5
Con *sitiunt*, senz' altro, ciò forniro.
Ed io, più lieve che per l' altre foci,
M' andava sì che senza alcun labore
Seguiva in su gli spiriti veloci,
Quando Virgilio cominciò: 'Amore, 10
Acceso di virtù, sempre altro accese,
Pur che la fiamma sua paresse fuore.
Onde, dall' ora che tra noi discese
Nel limbo dello inferno Juvenale,
Che la tua affezion mi fe' palese, 15
Mia benvoglienza inverso te fu quale
Più strinse mai di non vista persona,
Sì ch' or mi parran corte queste scale.
Ma dimmi, e come amico mi perdona
Se troppa sicurtà m' allarga il freno, 20
E come amico omai meco ragiona:

4. Mat. v, 6: 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness' — in the Vulgate, 'Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt *justitiam*.' Dante here takes 'justice' in the special sense of moderation, the golden mean between avarice and prodigality, the virtue opposed to both these sins.

5. *Voci*, 'words.'

6. The verse as recited by the angel is: 'Beati qui sitiunt justitiam,' the *esuriunt* ('hunger') being left out. In the circle of gluttony the same verse is used, in a different sense, the *esuriunt* being retained and the *sitiunt* ('thirst') omitted. To obtain the requisite number of appropriate beatitudes, Dante introduced this one twice, and in both cases somewhat distorted its form and meaning.

10, 11. Virgil here says of spiritual love what Francesca said of carnal passion in *Inf.* V, 103.

14. The Latin poet Juvenal was a contemporary of Statius, whom he praised in his *Satires*, VII, 81–7. Dante mentions him twice in *Conv.* and once in *Mon.*

16, 17. *Quale più strinse mai*, 'the greatest that ever bound (one).'

20. *Sicurtà*, 'confidence.'

21. *Ragiona*, 'speak.'

Come potè trovar dentro al tuo seno
  Loco avarizia, tra cotanto senno
  Di quanto, per tua cura, fosti pieno?'
Queste parole Stazio mover fenno 25
  Un poco a riso pria; poscia rispose:
  'Ogni tuo dir d' amor m' è caro cenno.
Veramente più volte appaion cose
  Che danno a dubitar falsa matera,
  Per le vere ragion che sono ascose. 30
La tua domanda tuo creder m' avvera
  Esser ch' io fossi avaro in l' altra vita,
  Forse per quella cerchia dov' io era.
Or sappi ch' avarizia fu partita
  Troppo da me, e questa dismisura 35
  Migliaia di lunari hanno punita.
E se non fosse ch' io drizzai mia cura,
  Quand' io intesi là dove tu esclame,
  Crucciato quasi all' umana natura —
"Per che non reggi tu, o sacra fame 40
  Dell' oro, l' appetito dei mortali?"

24. *Cura*, 'zeal.'
28. *Veramente*, 'to be sure.'
29. *Matera* = *materia* (cf. XVIII, 37; also *Lavina* in XVII, 37), 'ground.'
30. 'Because the real cause is hidden.'
31. *Avvera*, 'assures.'
33. *Per*, 'because of.'
36. 'Thousands of months': over 500 years (XXI, 68), or more than 6000 months.
37. *Drizzai*, 'set right.'
38. *Intesi*, 'understood,' penetrated the hidden meaning. Cf. *Inf.* IV, 51; *Inf.* XXIV, 74; *Par.* XIV, 126; and especially *Purg.* XIX, 137, where we find exactly the same use.
40, 41. *Æn.*, III, 56–7:

> 'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
> Auri sacra fames?'

These words evidently mean: 'To what dost thou not drive mortal hearts, accursed hunger for gold?' But Dante saw in them also, taking them apart from their context, the concealed moral significance which he here puts into the mouth of Statius: 'Why, O blessed (i. e., temperate) hunger for gold, dost thou

Voltando sentirei le giostre grame.
Allor m' accorsi che troppo aprir l' ali
Potean le mani a spendere, e pente'mi
Così di quel come degli altri mali. 45
Quanti risurgeran coi crini scemi
Per ignoranza, che di questa pecca
Toglie il penter vivendo e negli estremi!
E sappi che la colpa che rimbecca
Per dritta opposizione alcun peccato 50
Con esso insieme qui suo verde secca.
Però, s' io son tra quella gente stato
Che piange l' avarizia, per purgarmi,
Per lo contrario suo m' è incontrato.'
'Or quando tu cantasti le crude armi 55
Della doppia tristizia di Jocasta,'
Disse il Cantor de' bucolici carmi,
'Per quello che Cliò teco lì tasta,

not govern mortal appetite,' keeping it equally distant from avarice and prodigality? The discovery of this inner meaning in his master's verses was the beginning of Statius's reformation. — For the use of *reggi*, cf. Boethius, *Cons.*, II, Met. viii, 28–30 (cited in *Mon.*, I, ix, end):

'O felix hominum genus
Si vestros animos amor,
Quo cælum regitur, regat!'

42. 'Rolling (a heavy weight), I should (now) be engaged in the dismal tilts' of the misers and the prodigals in Hell: cf. *Inf.* VII, 25–30.

46. The 'cropped hair' is a symbol of prodigality: *Inf.* VII, 56–7.

47. *Che*, 'which,' subject of *toglie* in l. 48. Many are lost because they do not understand that prodigality is a sin, as well as avarice. Their ignorance, which 'robs them of repentance,' is not a sufficient excuse, because it is not insuperable or 'invincible' ignorance: they had a chance to learn better. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 2.

48. *Negli estremi* is a translation of the Latin *in extremis*.

49. *Rimbecca*, 'rebuts.'

56. By the 'twofold affliction of Jocasta' is meant her two sons, Eteocles and Polynices, whose strife and death are related in the 11th book of the *Thebaid*. Cf. *Inf.* XXVI, 52–4.

57. This mention of the *Bucolics*, or *Eclogues*, of Virgil prepares the reader for the quotation from the 4th Eclogue in ll. 70–2.

58. 'Judging from that (i. e., the music) which Clio plays with thee there': judging from the narrative which the pagan muse inspired. Clio, the muse of

Non par che ti facesse ancor fedele
La fè, senza la qual ben far non basta. 60
Se così è, qual sole o quai candele
Ti stenebraron sì che tu drizzasti
Poscia diretro al pescator le vele?'
Ed egli a lui: 'Tu prima m' invïasti
Verso Parnaso a ber nelle sue grotte, 65
E poi, appresso Dio, m' alluminasti.
Facesti come quei che va di notte,
Che porta il lume retro, e sè non giova,
Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte,
Quando dicesti: "Secol si rinnova; 70
Torna giustizia, e primo tempo umano,
E progenie discende dal ciel nova."
Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano!
Ma perchè veggi mei ciò ch' io disegno,
A colorare stenderò la mano. 75
Già era il mondo tutto quanto pregno
Della vera credenza, seminata
Per li messaggi dell' eterno regno,
E la parola tua sopra toccata
Sì consonava ai nuovi predicanti 80
Ond' io a visitarli presi usata.
Vennermi poi parendo tanto santi,
Che, quando Domizian li perseguette,

history, is invoked twice in the *Thebaid* and once (as 'goddess') in the *Achilleid*. — For the accentuation *Cliò*, cf. *Calliopè* in I, 9.

61. What heavenly or earthly light 'scattered thy darkness'?

63. The 'fisherman' is St. Peter.

65. Parnassus is the mountain sacred to Apollo and the muses.

66. *Appresso*, 'next to.'

68. Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, IV, xvi. For some other uses of this simile, see *Tor*., 517.

74. *Veggi* = *vegga* = *veda:* cf. XIII, 112. — *Mei* = *meglio*.

79. *Toccata*, 'mentioned.'

83. Domitian was Emperor toward the close of the first century of our era.

Senza mio lagrimar non fur lor pianti.
E mentre che di là per me si stette, 85
Io li sovvenni, e lor dritti costumi
Fer dispregiare a me tutte altre sette;
E pria ch' io conducessi i Greci ai fiumi
Di Tebe, poetando, ebb' io battesmo;
Ma per paura chiuso cristian fu'mi, 90
Lungamente mostrando paganesmo;
E questa tepidezza il quarto cerchio
Cerchiar mi fe' più ch' al quarto centesmo.
Tu dunque, che levato hai il coperchio
Che m' ascondeva quanto bene io dico, 95
Mentre che del salire avem soperchio,
Dimmi dov' è Terenzio nostro antico,
Cecilio, Plauto e Varo, se lo sai.
Dimmi se son dannati, ed in qual vico.'
'Costoro e Persio ed io ed altri assai,' 100
Rispose il Duca mio, 'siam, con quel Greco
Che le Muse lattar più ch' altro mai,
Nel primo cinghio del carcere cieco.

85. 'And as long as I remained yonder.' For the passive impersonal construction, cf. XVI, 118–9.
86. *Sovvenni*, 'helped.'
88, 89. Before I told in verse the story of the campaign of the Greeks against Thebes.
90. *Chiuso*, 'secret.' — *Fu'mi* = *mi fui* = *fui*.
93. Statius circled around the fourth circle (of sloth) 'over four centuries' before his penance of 500 years and more in the circle of prodigality. Cf. XXI, 67–8.
96. *Soperchio*, 'something left.'
98. *Varo* is probably for *Vario* (cf. *matera* in l. 29): the Latin dramatist Lucius Varius. Most texts have *Varro*, but this name would perhaps be inappropriate in connection with those of the dramatic poets, Terence, Cæcilius, Plautus. Horace mentions Cæcilius, Plautus, and Terence together, in the same order, in *Epistulæ*, II, i, 58–60.
100. Persius, the Latin satirist.
101. Homer: cf. *Inf.* IV, 88.
103. The 'first belt' is the Limbus. — For *carcere cieco*, cf. *Inf.* X, 58–9, and *Æn.*, VI, 734.

Spesse fiate ragioniam del monte
Che sempre ha le nutrici nostre seco. 105
Euripide v' è nosco, ed Antifonte,
Simonide, Agatone ed altri piùe
Greci che già di lauro ornar la fonte.
Quivi si veggion delle genti tue
Antigone, Deïfile ed Argia, 110
Ed Ismene sì trista come fue.
Vedesi quella che mostrò Langia;
Evvi la figlia di Tiresia, e Teti,
E con le suore sue Deïdamia.'
Tacevansi ambedue già li poeti, 115
Di nuovo attenti a riguardare intorno,
Liberi dal salire e dai pareti;
E già le quattro ancelle eran del giorno
Rimase addietro, e la quinta era al temo,
Drizzando pure in su l' ardente corno, 120

105. 'Our nurses' are the muses: cf. l. 102.

106, 107. The Greek lyric poet, Simonides, is mentioned with the Greek tragic poets, Euripides, Antiphon, and Agathon.

109. By 'thy people' Virgil means the characters in Statius's poems. The first six enumerated are found in the *Thebaid*, the last two in the *Achilleid*.

110, 111. Antigone and Ismēne were daughters of Œdipus and Jocasta (l. 56); after fearful misfortunes, both were condemned to death by Creon. Deīphīle and Argīa were daughters of Adrastus, king of Argos; the first was the wife of Tydeus (*Inf.* XXXII, 130), the second of Polynices (see note to l. 56); Argia once possessed the 'ill-fated ornament' of XII, 51.

112. It was Hypsipȳle who pointed out the fountain of Langīa to Adrastus and the other Greek kings, when their troops were dying of thirst (*Thebaid*, IV, 716 ff.): cf. *Inf.* XVIII, 92; *Purg.* XXVI, 95.

113. Tiresias's daughter was Manto, whom Dante consigned (*Inf.* XX, 55), with the other soothsayers, to the 4th *bolgia* of the 8th circle of Hell; for a discussion of this curious inconsistency, see the Argument to Canto XX of the *Inferno*. — Thetis, the sea-goddess, was the wife of Peleus and the mother of Achilles: cf. IX, 37.

114. Deīdamīa and 'her sisters' were daughters of Lycomedes, king of Scyros, with whom Thetis hid Achilles: IX, 34–9. Deidamia was loved by Achilles: *Inf.* XXVI, 62.

118. The 'handmaids of the day' are the hours of daylight: cf. XII, 81.

119. *Temo* = *timone*, 'chariot-pole.' The hours are here represented as drawing in turn the car of day.

120. The 'blazing horn' is the bright tip of the pole, which now points 'only upward,' as it is approaching the meridian.

Quando il mio Duca: 'Io credo ch' allo estremo
  Le destre spalle volger ci convegna,
  Girando il monte come far solemo.'
Così l' usanza fu lì nostra insegna,
  E prendemmo la via con men sospetto 125
  Per l' assentir di quell' anima degna.
Elli givan dinanzi, ed io soletto
  Diretro, ed ascoltava i lor sermoni
  Ch' a poetar mi davano intelletto.
Ma tosto ruppe le dolci ragioni 130
  Un arbor che trovammo in mezza strada,
  Con pomi ad odorar soavi e buoni.
E come abete in alto si digrada
  Di ramo in ramo, così quello in giuso, —
  Cred' io perchè persona su non vada. 135
Dal lato onde il cammin nostro era chiuso,
  Cadea dell' alta roccia un liquor chiaro,
  E si spandeva per le foglie suso.
Li due poeti all' arbor s' appressaro;
  Ed una voce per entro le fronde 140
  Gridò: 'Di questo cibo avrete caro.'
Poi disse: 'Più pensava Maria onde
  Fosser le nozze onrevoli ed intere,
  Ch' alla sua bocca, ch' or per voi risponde.

121. *Estremo,* 'outer edge': cf. XIX, 81.
126. The 'worthy soul' who gives his silent assent is Statius.
130. *Arbor = albero.*
133. *Si digrada,* 'tapers.'
136. On the inner side, where the path was enclosed by the cliff.
141. *Caro,* 'dearth.'
143. The story of Mary at the wedding feast in Cana (John ii, 1-3), which she tried to make 'honorable and perfect,' was used in XIII, 29, as an example of loving solicitude; here it appears among the examples of temperance.
144. 'Than of her own mouth (i. e., of gratifying her own appetite), which now answers (pleads) for you.'

E le Romane antiche per lor bere 145
    Contente furon d' acqua; e Danïello
    Dispregiò cibo ed acquistò sapere.
Lo secol primo (quant' oro fu bello)
    Fe' saporose con fame le ghiande,
    E nèttare con sete ogni ruscello. 150
Mele e locuste furon le vivande
    Che nudriro il Batista nel diserto;
    Per ch' egli è gloriöso, e tanto grande
Quanto per l' Evangelio v' è aperto.'

145. St. Thomas says that, according to Valerius Maximus, the women, at the time of the early Romans, drank no wine: *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. cxlix, Art. 4.

147. Daniel i, 8–17: 'But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's (Nebuchadnezzar's) meat, nor with the wine which he drank . . . and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams.'

148. The golden age is described in *Met.*, I, 89–112.

149. Cf. *Cons.*, II, Metr. v, ll. 1–12.

151. Mat. iii, 4: 'his (John the Baptist's) meat was locusts and wild honey.'

154. *Aperto*, 'revealed.' — Mat. xi, 11: 'Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.' Cf. Luke i, 15.

CANTO XXIII

ARGUMENT

JUST as, in Hell, Dante's old master, Brunetto Latini, scorched almost beyond recognition, suddenly greets his former disciple with the exclamation 'Qual maraviglia!' (*Inf.* XV, 24), so among the disfigured gluttons in Purgatory one of the souls, after peering at the poet 'from the depths of his skull,' reveals himself by the cry 'Qual grazia m' è questa!' The same gentle, caressing rhythm in which the traveller accosted Francesca, Ciacco, and Belacqua (*Inf.* V, 116; VI, 58; *Purg.* IV, 123) recurs here in the line, 'Ed io a lui: "Forese, da quel dì" . . . ' For this is the shade of Bicci Novello, called also Forese, of the Donati family, brother of that famous Corso Donati who led the Blacks, and a kinsman of the Gemma Donati who became Dante's wife. He died in 1296. From the present passage we learn that he and our poet, at one time (we cannot tell exactly when), were close friends, and that they pursued together a course which it is now painful to recall, a life symbolized by the dark wood from which Virgil, or Reason, rescued the sinner at the beginning of the *Inferno*. The nature and the degree of their worldliness we have no means of knowing; but we have evidence of their intimacy, and of a common coarseness of taste, in a series of six sonnets exchanged, either in anger or in blackguard jest, by the two companions. In these, Dante reproaches Forese with desertion of his wife, gluttony, thievishness, and illegitimate birth; Forese retaliates with accusations of beggary and cowardice, and a couple of incomprehensible references to some scandal connected with Dante's father. Although Bicci Novello was a rhymester, he was probably no scholar; at any rate, in the present canto the poet does not think it worth while to tell him Statius's name, and when Virgil is introduced to him he seems to show no interest. But for the really bad name he gave Forese in the vituperative sonnets, Dante now makes all possible amends. He puts into his mouth a sweet phrase of loving penitence and a stern reprobation of Florentine immodesty. Still more notable is the rehabilitation of Forese's wife, Nella, whom Dante had cruelly ridiculed in the first sonnet, jeering at her perpetual colds and her husband's neglect.

Forese now describes her as his 'dear widow,' whom he 'loved so much,' and to whose tears and prayers he owes his speedy admission to the heavenward path.

See G. Venturi, *Dante e Forese Donati*, in *Rivista d' Italia*, VII, i, 391.

Mentre che gli occhi per la fronda verde
  Ficcava io così come far suole
  Chi retro agli uccellin sua vita perde,
Lo più che padre mi dicea: 'Figliuole,
  Vienne oramai, chè il tempo che c' è imposto 5
  Più utilmente compartir si vuole.'
Io volsi il viso, e il passo non men tosto
  Appresso ai savi, che parlavan sìe
  Che l' andar mi facean di nullo costo.
Ed ecco piangere e cantar s' udìe: 10
  '*Labïa mea Domine*,' per modo
  Tal che diletto e doglia parturìe.
'O dolce Padre, che è quel ch' i' odo?'
  Comincia' io. Ed egli: 'Ombre che vanno
  Forse di lor dover solvendo il nodo.' 15
Sì come i peregrin pensosi fanno,
  Giugnendo per cammin gente non nota,
  Che si volgono ad essa e non ristanno,
Così diretro a noi, più tosto mota,

3. *Perde*, 'wastes.' Bird-hunting was the favorite aristocratic sport in the Middle Ages, and is still (in different forms) ardently pursued in Italy. Dante draws many similes from it.

4. *Figliuole* is the Latin vocative, *filiole*, written as Dante probably pronounced it: 'my son.'

8. *Sìe* = *sì*: cf. IV, 47.

11. Ps. li, 15 (Vulg. l, 17): '*O Lord*, open thou *my lips;* and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.' The mouth, which was put to a bad use on earth, now makes amends: cf. XXII, 144. This verse is from the beautiful psalm of repentance and faith called the '*Miserere*,' which was sung by the waiting spirits in V, 24.

15. *Dover*, 'debt.'

16. Cf. *V. N.*, Sonnet XXIV, 55: 'Deh peregrini, che pensosi andate.'

19. *Mota* = *mossa*, 'moving.'

Venendo e trapassando, ci ammirava 20
D' anime turba tacita e devota.
Negli occhi era ciascuna oscura e cava,
Pallida nella faccia, e tanto scema
Che dall' ossa la pelle s' informava.
Non credo che così a buccia estrema 25
Eresitone fosse fatto secco
Per digiunar, quando più n' ebbe tema.
Io dicea fra me stesso pensando: 'Ecco
La gente che perdè Jerusalemme,
Quando Maria nel figlio diè di becco!' 30
Parean l' occhiaie anella senza gemme.
Chi nel viso degli uomini legge *omo*,
Ben avria quivi conosciuto l' emme.
Chi crederebbe che l' odor d' un pomo
Sì governasse, generando brama, 35
E quel d' un' acqua — non sapendo como?

23. *Scema*, 'wasted.' Cf. Job xix, 20.
25. *A buccia estrema*, 'to the very rind.' Cf. *Met.*, VIII, 801–4, the description of Erysichthon:

> 'Hirtus erat crinis, cava lumina, pallor in ore,
> Labra incana situ, scabræ rubigine fauces,
> *Dura cutis*, per quam spectari viscera possent;
> Ossa sub incurvis exstabant arida lumbis.'

26. *Fatto secco*, 'dried up.' Erysichthon was punished for sacrilege, by Ceres, with consuming hunger, so that, having devoured all he possessed, he finally began to eat himself: *Met.*, VIII, 738–878.
27. *Tema*, 'fear': when he found himself obliged to feed on his own body: *Met.*, VIII, 877–8.
30. The Jews besieged in Jerusalem were horribly reduced by famine, until they were at last compelled to open the gates to the Emperor Titus. A lady named Mary killed, cooked, and 'stuck her beak into' her own child: Flavius Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, VI, iii, 8.
32. Capital *M*, in the handwriting of Dante's time, resembled two *O*'s side by side, the second a little open at the bottom. Inasmuch as this figure is not unlike a nose between two eye-sockets, it was sometimes said that man (homo) had his name (*omo*, i. e., *uomo*) written in his face, the two sockets furnishing the initial and the final *O*, and the whole contour of the sockets and nose furnishing the medial *M*. In a skull the likeness is much more striking.
36. *Quel:* i. e., *odor*. — *Como* = *come*.

Già era in ammirar che sì gli affama,
  Per la cagione ancor non manifesta
  Di lor magrezza e di lor trista squama;
Ed ecco del profondo della testa 40
  Volse a me gli occhi un' ombra, e guardò fiso;
  Poi gridò forte: 'Qual grazia m' è questa?'
Mai non l' avrei riconosciuto al viso;
  Ma nella voce sua mi fu palese
  Ciò che l' aspetto in sè avea conquiso. 45
Questa favilla tutta mi raccese
  Mia conoscenza alla cambiata labbia,
  E ravvisai la faccia di Forese.
'Deh non contendere all' asciutta scabbia,
  Che mi scolora,' pregava, 'la pelle, 50
  Nè a difetto di carne ch' io abbia!
Ma dimmi il ver di te, e chi son quelle
  Due anime che là ti fanno scorta!
  Non rimaner che tu non mi favelle!'
'La faccia tua, ch' io lagrimai già morta, 55
  Mi dà di pianger mo non minor doglia,'
  Rispos' io lui, 'veggendola sì torta.
Però mi di', per Dio, che sì vi sfoglia!
  Non mi far dir mentr' io mi maraviglio,
  Chè mal può dir chi è pien d' altra voglia.' 60
Ed egli a me: 'Dell' eterno consiglio
  Cade virtù nell' acqua, e nella pianta

37. *Era in ammirar che*, 'I was wondering what . . .' — *Gli* = *li*.
39. Scaliness and discoloration of the skin were regarded as signs of extreme starvation.
45. *Ciò:* the identity of the shade. — *Conquiso*, 'suppressed.'
47. *Labbia*, 'countenance.'
49. *Contendere*, 'stare.'
56. *Mo*, 'now.'
58. *Che*, 'what.' — *Sfoglia*, 'withers.'

Rimasa retro, ond' io sì m' assottiglio.
Tutta esta gente che piangendo canta,
Per seguitar la gola oltra misura, 65
In fame e in sete qui si rifà santa.
Di bere e di mangiar n' accende cura
L' odor ch' esce del pomo e dello sprazzo
Che si distende su per la verdura;
E non pure una volta, questo spazzo 70
Girando, si rinfresca nostra pena.
Io dico "pena," e dovrei dir "sollazzo";
Chè quella voglia all' arbore ci mena
Che menò Cristo lieto a dire "Elì,"
Quando ne liberò con la sua vena.' 75
Ed io a lui: 'Forese, da quel dì
Nel qual mutasti mondo a miglior vita,
Cinqu' anni non son volti infino a qui.
Se prima fu la possa in te finita
Di peccar più, che sorvenisse l' ora 80
Del buon dolor ch' a Dio ne rimarita,
Come se' tu quassù venuto? Ancora
Io ti credea trovar laggiù di sotto,

63. *M' assottiglio*, 'grow peaked.'
65. *Per*, 'because of.'
68. *Sprazzo*, 'spray': cf. XXII, 137–8. — Cf. *Met.*, IV, 458–9:

'Tibi, Tantale, nullæ
Deprenduntur aquæ, quæque imminet effugit arbos.'

70. *Spazzo*, 'floor': cf. *Inf.* XIV, 13.
74. Mat. xxvii, 46: 'And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani, that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' — That same love of sacrifice which led Christ gladly to the crucifixion leads us to our penance. — Ll. 74, 76, 78 are *versi tronchi:* cf. *Inf.* IV, 56.
75. *Vena*, 'vein,' i. e., blood.
78. 'Five' is here a round number. In fact, as Forese died on July 28, 1296, the time is less than four years. — Dante wonders why Forese is not waiting outside of Purgatory, since he postponed repentance until the end of life. Cf. IV, 130–5.

Dove tempo per tempo si ristora.'
Ond' egli a me: 'Sì tosto m' ha condotto 85
A ber lo dolce assenzio de' martiri
La Nella mia col suo pianger dirotto.
Con suoi preghi devoti e con sospiri
Tratto m' ha della costa ove s' aspetta,
E liberato m' ha degli altri giri. 90
Tant' è a Dio più cara e più diletta
La vedovella mia, che tanto amai,
Quanto in bene operare è più soletta;
Chè la Barbagia di Sardigna assai
Nelle femmine sue è più pudica 95
Che la Barbagia dov' io la lasciai.
O dolce frate, che vuoi tu ch' io dica?
Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,
Cui non sarà quest' ora molto antica,
Nel qual sarà in pergamo interdetto 100
Alle sfacciate donne Fiorentine
L' andar mostrando con le poppe il petto.
Quai Barbare fur mai, quai Saracine,
Cui bisognasse, per farle ir coperte,
O spiritali o altre discipline? 105
Ma se le svergognate fosser certe
Di quel che il ciel veloce loro ammanna,
Già per urlare avrian le bocche aperte.
Chè se l' antiveder qui non m' inganna,

94. *Barbagia* is the name of a wild and mountainous region in Sardinia, whose inhabitants, converted late to Christianity, were still only half-civilized in Dante's time.

96. Dante calls Florence a second Barbagia, on account of its godlessness.

100. We have no other knowledge of such a prohibition from 'the pulpit'; nor have we other evidence that the Florentine women deserved such a reprimand.

107. *Ammanna*, 'is storing up.'

Prima fien triste che le guance impeli 110
Colui che mo sì consola con nanna.
Deh, frate, or fa che più non mi ti celi!
Vedi che non pur io, ma questa gente
Tutta rimira là dove il sol veli.'
Per ch' io a lui: 'Se ti riduci a mente 115
Qual fosti meco e quale io teco fui,
Ancor fia grave il memorar presente.
Di quella vita mi volse costui
Che mi va innanzi, l' altr' ier, quando tonda
Vi si mostrò la suora di colui —' 120
(E il sol mostrai). 'Costui per la profonda
Notte menato m' ha da' veri morti,
Con questa vera carne che il seconda.
Indi m' han tratto su li suoi conforti,
Salendo e rigirando la montagna 125
Che drizza voi che il mondo fece torti.
Tanto dice di farmi sua compagna,
Ch' io sarò là dove fia Beatrice;
Quivi convien che senza lui rimagna.
Virgilio è questi che così mi dice' — 130
E addita' lo, — 'e quest' altro è quell' ombra
Per cui scosse dianzi ogni pendice
Lo vostro regno che da sè lo sgombra.'

110. *Le guance impeli*, 'he shall have hairy cheeks.'
111. *Nanna*, 'lullaby.' — The prophecy seems to relate to an event about 15 years off. On Aug. 29, 1315, occurred the defeat of Montecatini, disastrous for the leading families of Florence.
119. *L' altr' ier*, 'the other day.'
120. *Suora* = *sorella*. Cf. *Inf.* XX, 127.
123. *Seconda*, 'follows': cf. XVI, 33.

CANTO XXIV

ARGUMENT

WHEN Dante wrote the first *canzone* of the *Vita Nuova*, 'Ye ladies who understand what love is,' he felt that he was inaugurating a new era in poetry. The prose introduction to the verses testifies to the solemnity of the event. Following in part the indications of his master, Guido Guinizelli of Bologna (XXVI, 91–102), and strongly influenced in style by Virgil (*Inf.* I, 85–7), the youthful poet was creating — or renewing — a type of composition based directly upon truth, inspired by, and faithfully recording, the author's own emotions and the fruits of his eager study (*V. N.*, XLIII, 1–7). In Dante's opinion, his Italian forerunners and probably (in spite of frequent protestations of sincerity) their Provençal forbears had regarded poetry as a rhetorical, metrical, and musical exercise, a working out of old themes in new keys, with fresh variations of technique; while the 'sweet new style' of the young Florentine made rhetoric, metre, and music subservient to the expression of real thought and feeling. For him, *amore* meant not only love, but also the enthusiastic pursuit of knowledge (*Conv.*, II, xvi, 79–83). The phrase 'dolce stil nuovo' is nowadays employed rather loosely to designate all the work of a little group comprising Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, Dante Alighieri, and Cino da Pistoia, who are mentioned together in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, xiii, 33–40, as experts in the vulgar tongue; but as our author uses it in Canto XXIV, it evidently refers only to the maturer lyric product of Dante himself and those who followed him, — perhaps excluding Cavalcanti, who did not share in the cult of Virgil (*Inf.* X, 62–3). Italy had already seen in the 13th century more than one glorious artificer of modern speech: Giacomo da Lentini, — or, as he signed himself, 'the Notary,' — a secretary at the court of Frederick II, a prolific and versatile composer, perhaps the inventor of the sonnet, leader of the Sicilian school (*Vulg. El.*, I, xii, 5–35), to which Pier delle Vigne (*Inf.* XIII) belonged; Guittone d'Arezzo (*Vulg. El.*, I, xiii, 7–8; *Purg.* xxvi, 124), an ingenious but uninspired and laborious love-poet and a rugged satirist, the chief of the early Tuscan versifiers; and his follower, Bonagiunta Orbicciani of Lucca (*Vulg. El.*,

I, xiii, 8–9), a not altogether servile imitator of Provençal and Italian models. But they and their fellows substituted convention for introspection, and this fundamental error, from which all their faults of conception and diction derived, was the 'knot' that bound them, keeping them always 'on the hither side' of the heights scaled by unfettered genius. Of the comparative importance of substance and form Dante speaks in the *Convivio*, II, xii, 21–7: 'La *bontà* e la *bellezza* di ciascuno sermone sono intra loro partite e diverse; chè la bontà è nella sentenza, e la bellezza nell' ornamento delle parole: l' una e l' altra è con diletto; avvegnachè la bontade sia massimamente dilettosa.'

The last of the above mentioned predecessors of the new style, Bonagiunta Orbicciani, is presented to Dante by Forese. In this region, where aspects are so altered by fasting, there is no discourtesy in pointing at people and calling them by their names. In fact, all the shades designated by Forese are glad to serve as warning examples to the new-comer, and not one of them scowls, or shows 'a dark mien,' at having his former weakness disclosed. Among them, 'plying their teeth on empty air,' are seen: Martin IV of Tours, Pope from 1281 to 1285, the supporter of Charles of Anjou (VII, 113) in Sicily and the stubborn opponent of Guido da Montefeltro at Forlì (*Inf.* XXVII, 43–4), who, for all his honesty and valor, was overfond of white wine and of the fat eels of Lake Bolsena, in the province of Rome; Ubaldino dalla Pila, brother of Cardinal Ottaviano (*Inf.* X, 120) and father of Archbishop Ruggieri (*Inf.* XXXIII, 14), a Ghibelline prominent among those who triumphed at Montaperti in 1260, a jovial personage in one of Sacchetti's stories (*Novelle*, CCV); Bonifazio de' Fieschi, the 'shepherd of many people,' archbishop of Ravenna from 1274 to 1294, who, in his will, devoted his fortune to the recovery of the Holy Land; Master Marchese (or Marchesino) degli Orgogliosi of Forlì, mayor of Faenza in 1296.

There was a rhymester called Bonagiunta in Florence, where the name was very common; but the one our poet meets among the gluttons is from Lucca, a judge and notary, whom we find recorded in documents from 1250 to 1296. Although his city has been condemned as a nest of bribery (*Inf.* XXI, 37–42), he foresees that a lady, a certain Gentucca, who does not yet, in 1300, wear the married woman's veil (cf. VIII, 74), shall one day make Lucca a pleasant sojourn for Dante. In this dim prophecy we doubtless have one more of those discreetly gracious compliments offered in grateful return for hospitality to the exile in his wanderings. Who his kind hostess was, we do not know. The name

Gentucca occurs several times in Lucchese records. A Gentucca Morla, married to Coscio di Fondora, is mentioned in a will of 1317, at which time she was apparently a young wife. Dante's visit to Lucca — of which this passage is our only evidence — may well have been paid in 1315.

A very different prophecy — though similarly cloaked in vagueness — is made by Forese concerning his brother, Corso Donati, the Catiline of Florence. This great leader of the Blacks, noble, handsome, proud, ambitious, daring, crafty, and cruel, at last fell out with the other chiefs of his party, who accused him of treason and had him condemned and arrested. As he was being led into the city on a horse or a mule, on October 6, 1308, he threw himself upon the ground, where a Catalan guardsman despatched him with a lance thrust in the throat. According to one story, his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged some distance before the Catalan overtook him. In Dante's version, which is not found elsewhere, Corso is kicked to death by the animal that is hauling him. 'Him who is most to blame for Florence's downfall,' says Forese, 'I see dragged, at the tail of a beast, toward that valley where there is no remission of sin' — in other words, dragged to death, which, for Corso, means Hell; 'the creature runs faster at each step, ever increasing, until it strikes him and leaves his body ignominiously destroyed.' This end is the more disgraceful in that dragging at a horse's tail was a punishment inflicted upon particularly vile criminals.

For Dante's ideas of literary style, see *Vulg. El.*, II, iv. For the 'dolce stil nuovo': F. Flamini, *Dante e lo "Stil Nuovo,"* 1900; P. Savj-Lopez, *Trovadori e poeti*, 1906, 20-3. For Bonagiunta: Novati, 190; A. Parducci, *I rimatori lucchesi del secolo* XIII, 1905. For Gentucca: Novati, 198. For the stories of Corso's death: Tor., 539-40.

Nè il dir l' andar, nè l' andar lui più lento
  Facea, ma ragionando andavam forte,
  Sì come nave pinta da buon vento.
E l' ombre, che parean cose rimorte,
  Per le fosse degli occhi ammirazione
  Traean di me, di mio vivere accorte.
Ed io, continüando il mio sermone,
  Dissi: 'Ella sen va su forse più tarda

4. *Rimorte*, 'twice dead': Jude 12.
8. *Ella:* the shade of Statius, mentioned in XXIII, 131.

Che non farebbe, per l' altrui cagione.
Ma dimmi, se tu 'l sai, ov' è Piccarda. 10
Dimmi s' io veggio da notar persona
Tra questa gente che sì mi riguarda.'
'La mia sorella, che tra bella e buona
Non so qual fosse più, trionfa lieta
Nell' alto Olimpo già di sua corona.' 15
Sì disse prima, e poi: 'Qui non si vieta
Di nominar ciascun, da ch' è sì munta
Nostra sembianza via per la dïeta.
Questi' — e mostrò col dito — 'è Bonagiunta,
Bonagiunta da Lucca. E quella faccia 20
Di là da lui, più che l' altre trapunta,
Ebbe la santa Chiesa in le sue braccia;
Dal Torso fu, e purga per digiuno
L' anguille di Bolsena e la vernaccia.'
Molti altri mi nomò ad uno ad uno; 25
E del nomar parean tutti contenti,
Sì ch' io però non vidi un atto bruno.
Vidi per fame a vôto usar li denti
Ubaldin dalla Pila, e Bonifazio,
Che pasturò col rocco molte genti. 30
Vidi messer Marchese, ch' ebbe spazio
Già di bere a Forlì con men secchezza,
E sì fu tal che non si sentì sazio.
Ma come fa chi guarda, e poi s' apprezza
Più d' un che d' altro, fe' io a quel da Lucca, 35
Che più parea di me voler contezza.

9. In order to be longer with Virgil.
10. Piccarda Donati, Forese's sister, appears in *Par.* III.
17. *Munta*, 'milked dry,' withered by 'fast.'
21. *Trapunta*, 'drawn': hollowed like the 'stitched' spots in a comforter.
30. *Rocco* means 'rook,' or castle, in chess. Why Dante uses this word, where one would expect 'crook' or 'crozier,' is unexplained.
36. *Contezza*, 'acquaintance.'

Ei mormorava, e non so che 'Gentucca'
  Sentiva io là ov' ei sentia la piaga
  Della giustizia che sì li pilucca.
'O anima,' diss' io, 'che par sì vaga 40
  Di parlar meco, fa sì ch' io t' intenda,
  E te e me col tuo parlare appaga.'
'Femmina è nata, e non porta ancor benda,'
  Cominciò ei, 'che ti farà piacere
  La mia città, come ch' uom la riprenda. 45
Tu te n' andrai con questo antivedere;
  Se nel mio mormorar prendesti errore,
  Dichiareranti ancor le cose vere.
Ma di' s' io veggio qui colui che fuore
  Trasse le nuove rime, cominciando: 50
  "Donne ch' avete intelletto d' Amore."'
Ed io a lui: 'Io mi son un che, quando
  Amor mi spira, noto, ed a quel modo
  Che ditta dentro, vo significando.'
'O frate, issa veggio,' disse, 'il nodo 55
  Che il Notaro e Guittone e me ritenne
  Di qua dal dolce stil nuovo ch' i' odo.
Io veggio ben come le vostre penne
  Diretro al dittator sen vanno strette,
  Che delle nostre certo non avvenne. 60
E qual più a guardar oltre si mette
  Non vede più dall' uno all' altro stilo.'

38. *Là:* in the mouth.
39. *Pilucca,* 'plucks': strips, wastes.
45. *Come ch' uom,* 'however one.' . . .
48. 'The real events will yet set thee right.'
54. *Ditta* = *detta,* 'dictates.' — *Vo significando,* 'I speak forth.' — Cf. Bernart de Ventadorn:

Chantars no pot guaire valer,
Si dins del cor no mou lo chans.

55. *Issa,* 'now': cf. *Inf.* XXIII, 7; XXVII, 21.

E quasi contentato si tacette.
Come gli augei che vernan lungo il Nilo
Alcuna volta in aere fanno schiera, 65
Poi volan più in fretta e vanno in filo.
Così tutta la gente che lì era,
Volgendo il viso, raffrettò suo passo,
E per magrezza e per voler leggiera.
E come l' uom che di trottare è lasso 70
Lascia andar li compagni e sì passeggia
Fin che si sfoghi l' affollar del casso,
Sì lasciò trapassar la santa greggia
Forese, e retro meco sen veniva,
Dicendo: 'Quando fia ch' io ti riveggia?' 75
'Non so,' rispos' io lui, 'quant' io mi viva;
Ma già non fia il tornar mio tanto tosto
Ch' io non sia col voler prima alla riva.
Però che il loco, u' fui a viver posto,
Di giorno in giorno più di ben si spolpa, 80
Ed a trista ruïna par disposto.'
'Or va,' diss' ei, 'chè quei che più n' ha colpa
Vegg' io a coda d' una bestia tratto
In ver la valle, ove mai non si scolpa.
La bestia ad ogni passo va più ratto, 85
Crescendo sempre fin ch' ella il percuote,
E lascia il corpo vilmente disfatto.
Non hanno molto a volger quelle rote' —
E drizzò gli occhi al ciel — 'che ti fia chiaro
Ciò che il mio dir più dichiarar non puote. 90

64. Cf. *Phars.*, V, 711–6.
72. 'Until the heaving of his chest is eased.'
79. *U'* = *ove.*
80. *Si spolpa*, 'is unfleshed,' stripped.
84. 'The valley' of Hell, 'where sin is never cast off.'

Tu ti rimani omai, chè il tempo è caro
In questo regno sì ch' io perdo troppo
Venendo teco sì a paro a paro.'
Qual esce alcuna volta di galoppo
Lo cavalier di schiera che cavalchi, 95
E va per farsi onor del primo intoppo,
Tal si partì da noi con maggior valchi;
Ed io rimasi in via con esso i due,
Che fur del mondo sì gran maliscalchi.
E quando innanzi a noi entrato fue 100
Che gli occhi miei si fero a lui seguaci
Come la mente alle parole sue,
Parverm' i rami gravidi e vivaci
D' un altro pomo, e non molto lontani,
Per esser pure allora volto in làci. 105
Vidi gente sott' esso alzar le mani
E gridar non so che verso le fronde.
Quasi bramosi fantolini e vani
Che pregano, e il pregato non risponde,
Ma, per fare esser ben la voglia acuta, 110
Tien alto lor disio e nol nasconde.
Poi si partì sì come ricreduta;
E noi venimmo al grande arbore adesso
Che tanti preghi e lagrime rifiuta.

96. *Intoppo*, 'encounter,' single combat with one of the enemy.
97. *Valchi*, 'strides.'
99. *Maliscalchi*, 'marshals': carrying out the military figure of the preceding lines.
100. *Entrato*, 'retired' around the curve of the cliff: cf. III, 101.
101, 102. My eyes could no more follow his form than my mind could follow his words.
103. *Vivaci*, 'lusty.'
105. 'Because I had just then turned that way': Dante had been watching Forese in the distance. — *Làci* = *là*.
108. *Fantolini*, 'children.' — *Vani*, 'silly.'
112. *Ricreduta*, 'undeceived.'
113. *Adesso*, 'forthwith.'

'Trapassate oltre senza farvi presso! 115
Legno è più su che fu morso da Eva,
E questa pianta si levò da esso.'
Sì tra le frasche non so chi diceva;
Per che Virgilio e Stazio ed io, ristretti,
Oltre andavam dal lato che si leva. 120
'Ricordivi,' dicea, 'dei maledetti
Nei nuvoli formati, che satolli
Tesëo combatter coi doppi petti;
E degli Ebrei ch' al ber si mostrar molli,
Per che no i vollè Gedëon compagni, 125
Quando ver Madïan discese i colli.'
Sì, accostati all' un de' due vivagni,
Passammo, udendo colpe della gola,
Seguite già da miseri guadagni.
Poi, rallargati per la strada sola, 130
Ben mille passi e più ci portaro oltre,
Contemplando ciascun senza parola.
'Che andate pensando sì voi sol tre?'

115. Cf. Gen. ii, 17: 'But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it.'
116. The 'tree higher up' (in the Garden of Eden), 'which was bitten by Eve' (Gen. iii, 6), and of which the present fruit-tree is a slip, is the tree of knowledge, the symbol of law: XXXII, 37–42.
119. *Ristretti*, 'drawing close together,' to pass, on the left, between the tree and the cliff.
121. *Ricordi* is impersonal: *ricordivi*, 'bethink ye.' — The 'accursed' centaurs were the offspring of Ixion and a cloud.
123. The centaurs, invited by the Lapithæ to the wedding of Pirithous, attempted, when 'drunken,' to carry off the bride and other women; hence arose a fierce battle, in which the centaurs were defeated, with great slaughter, by Theseus (Pirithous's friend) and his followers.
125. Of the 10,000 Hebrews ready to fight against Midian, the Lord bade Gideon choose only the 300 who, when led to water, drank without kneeling, merely lifting the water to their lips; the others were sent home: Judges vii, 4–7.
127. *Vivagni*, 'edges' of the path: cf. *Inf.* XXIII, 49.
130. *Rallargati*, 'spreading out again,' after having passed through the narrow passage on the inner side of the ledge. — *Sola*, 'solitary.'
131. *Passi* is the subject of *portaro*.
133. *Sol tre*, 'three alone.' For the rhyme, cf. XIX, 34.

Subita voce disse; ond' io mi scossi,
Come fan bestie spaventate e poltre. 135
Drizzai la testa per veder chi fossi;
E giammai non si videro in fornace
Vetri o metalli sì lucenti e rossi
Com' io vidi un che dicea: 'S' a voi piace
Montare in su, qui si convien dar volta. 140
Quinci si va chi vuole andar per pace.'
L' aspetto suo m' avea la vista tolta;
Per ch' io mi volsi retro a' miei dottori,
Com' uom che va secondo ch' egli ascolta.
E quale, annunziatrice degli albori, 145
L' aura di maggio movesi ed olezza,
Tutta impregnata dall' erba e dai fiori,
Tal mi sentii un vento dar per mezza
La fronte, e ben senti' mover la piuma,
Che fe' sentir d' ambrosïa l' orezza. 150
E senti' dir: '*Beati* cui alluma
Tanto di grazia che l' amor del gusto
Nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma,
Esurïendo sempre quanto è giusto.'

135. 'As sluggish creatures do, when startled.'
136. *Fossi = fosse*: cf. *Inf*. IV, 64.
138. Cf. Rev. i, 15: 'And his (Christ's) feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace.' Red is the color of love.
140. *Dar volta*, 'turn.'
141. *Per*, 'for,' in search of.
143. *Mi volsi retro a*, 'fell in behind,' being so dazzled that I could not see my way.
148. *Dar*, 'strike.'
150. *Orezza*, 'breath.'
152. *Amor del gusto*, 'love of the palate': subject of *fuma*, 'inspires,' of which *disir*, 'appetite,' is object.
154. 'Hungering always as much as is right.' Mat. v, 6: 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness' — 'Beati qui *esuriunt* et sitiunt justitiam.' In the circle of avarice and prodigality (XXII, 4–6) this beautitude was used, with the omission of the *esuriunt*, in a changed sense. Here it is the *sitiunt* that disappears, and the *justitiam* is ingeniously rendered by 'quanto è giusto,' which means both 'after all that is righteous' and 'as much as is right.'

CANTO XXV

ARGUMENT

In response to Dante's question how, when there is nothing in common between souls and matter, a bodiless spirit can grow thin from hunger, Virgil cites, as examples of things equally wonderful, a familiar incident from Ovid and a common physical phenomenon. The life of Meleager (*Met.* VIII, 273 ff.) was made by the fates to depend on that of a firebrand, which his mother plucked from the flames; there was no visible connection between the youth and the brand, and yet when the stick, restored after many years to the fire, burned itself out, Meleager simultaneously wasted away. Furthermore, we can see no bond between a mirrored image and the body before the glass, and nevertheless the reflection — a thing as unsubstantial as a shade — follows every movement of the solid form. Having thus prepared his disciple's mind, Virgil leaves the real explanation to Statius; and he accepts the task, but not without an apology so phrased as to suggest that the matter is not absolutely beyond the reach of pure Reason.

The main problem to be solved is the relation of soul to body, and to grasp it one must understand the physical and spiritual processes which lead up to the birth of both flesh and ghost. The limbs and organs of man are fed by his blood, which contains within it, potentially, all the parts of his frame. Not all of the blood, however, is used in this way: some of it remains, intact and unsullied, in the heart, retaining its complete formative power. This 'perfect blood,' once more 'digested,' or transformed, becomes the parent seed. In the act of generation it unites with the blood of the female. The active male blood then operates upon the passive female blood, which it first condenses into an embryo and then quickens into life. This life, or *anima,* is at first merely that of a plant — the 'vegetative soul.' Next, — by means of the formative power transmitted, through the seed, from the begetter's heart, — the senses are developed, the embryo changes little by little from a plantlike creature to an animal, and its life is that of the 'sensitive soul.' Both of these 'souls' are perishable.

The real incorruptible spirit, the 'intellective soul,' is breathed into each child by God at the moment of its birth, and immediately takes unto itself the vegetative and sensitive functions, absorbing the powers of life and sense which had been previously developed by physical activity.

Every man has, then, but one soul, specially created for him and endowed with life, sense, and intellect. 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul' (Gen. ii, 7). This is the orthodox view, supported by Lactantius, St. Augustine, and their followers, among whom are St. Thomas, Hugh of St. Victor, and Peter Lombard. At the outset it had to contend with other doctrines. Origen had adopted the Platonic theory that all souls were created together at the beginning of the world; this opinion the Church condemned as heretical. Tertullian had maintained that one soul is begotten by another at the moment when the body is generated. Dante follows, in the main, St. Thomas (apparently preferring Aristotle, however, when it comes to the origin of the 'sensitive soul'), but he doubtless gathered from other Christian sources as well — for instance, from Hugh of St. Victor, *De Anima*, II, xii (Migne XL, p. 788). In the *Convivio*, IV, xxi, 32–48, he treats, very summarily, the same subject.

In this chapter of the *Convivio* Dante says that as soon as the living spirit is produced, it receives from the Mover of Heaven the 'potential intellect' — 'lo *Intelletto possibile*, il quale potenzialmente in sè adduce tutte le forme universali, secondochè sono nel suo Produttore, e tanto meno, quanto più è dilungato dalla *Prima Intelligenza*' (ll. 44–8). Further on (ll. 68–70) he states that in proportion to the purity of the soul, 'discende in essa la *Virtù intellettuale possibile*.' Guido Cavalcanti, in his poem *Donna mi prega*, 21–3, declares that love

> 'Ven da veduta forma che s' intende,
> Che prende nel *possibile intelletto*,
> Come in subiecto, loco e dimoranza.'

It was Aristotle, in *De Anima*, III, who distinguished the 'potential' or passive, *internal*, perishable intelligence, which receives impressions or images, from the active, *external*, imperishable intellect, a sort of oversoul, which interprets images and forms ideas. His teaching was carried further by his great commentator, the Spanish Moor, Averrhoës (cf. *Inf.* IV, 144). This philosopher, who had an immense vogue in the 13th and 14th centuries, com-

bined the two intellectual principles, active and passive, into one universal mind, situated outside the individual soul and only temporarily connected with it; to the latter he allowed only the functions of sense and instinct, thus denying the immortality of the individual intelligence. As far as we can judge, Dante accepts the combination of the passive and active principles, but rejects for man the theory of the external, impersonal mind. He has nothing to say of the 'active intellect,' and his *possibile intelletto* appears to comprise both the capacity to receive impressions and, stimulated by grace, the ability to understand and reason. Now, in our canto, ll. 61–6, he says that the problem of the transformation of the 'vegetative,' 'sensitive' embryo into a child is 'a point which once led astray a wiser man than thou, so that in his philosophy he parted the potential intellect from the soul, because he saw no organ appropriate to that intellect.' It seems likely, on the whole, that the 'wiser man' is Aristotle, interpreted more or less through the medium of Averrhoës. For the actual separation of the 'potential intellect' from the soul, the Moor is responsible; on the other hand, it is Aristotle who states (*De Anima*, III, iv, 4) that the passive intelligence has no organ of its own.

To complete the answer to Dante's question, which has led to wide and important digressions, Statius describes the acquisition, by the soul, of an aërial body (cf. the Argument to Canto II). In this invention Dante seems to run counter to St. Thomas, who denies (*Summa contra Gentiles*, II, xc; *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lxxvi, Art. 5) that the human soul can unite formally with the elements, although he affirms (*Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. li, Art. 2) that angels and devils can shape for themselves bodies of condensed air.

For the theory of generation, see St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. cxviii, Art. 2, and Qu. cxix, Art. 2; see also Tertia, xxxi, 5, xxxii, 4, xxxiii, 1. — For the *possibile intelletto:* Moore, I, 115; Tor., 549; K. Vossler, *Die philosophischen Grundlagen zum "süssen neuen Stil,"* 1904, 73.

Ora era onde il salir non volea storpio,
Chè il sole avea lo cerchio di merigge
Lasciato al Tauro e la notte allo Scorpio.

1. 'It was an hour when our ascent brooked no obstacle.' It is early afternoon.

3. The sun, in the sign of Aries, has passed the meridian, or 'noonday circle,' leaving it to Taurus, the constellation that follows Aries; and the night, conceived as a point opposite the sun, has left the meridian circle to Scorpio, the constellation opposite Taurus.

Per che, come fa l' uom che non s' affigge,
  Ma vassi alla via sua, checchè gli appaia, 5
  Se di bisogno stimolo il trafigge,
Così entrammo noi per la callaia,
  Uno innanzi altro, prendendo la scala
  Che per artezza i salitor dispaia.
E quale il cicognin che leva l' ala 10
  Per voglia di volare, e non s' attenta
  D' abbandonar lo nido, e giù la çala,
Tal era io con voglia accesa e spenta
  Di domandar, venendo infino all' atto
  Che fa colui ch' a dicer s' argomenta. 15
Non lasciò, per l' andar che fosse ratto,
  Lo dolce Padre mio, ma disse: 'Scocca
  L' arco del dir che infino al ferro hai tratto!'
Allor sicuramente aprii la bocca,
  E cominciai: 'Come si può far magro 20
  Là dove l' uopo di nutrir non tocca?'
'Se t' ammentassi come Meleägro
  Si consumò al consumar d' un stizzo,
  Non fora,' disse, 'questo a te sì agro;
E se pensassi come al vostro guizzo 25
  Guizza dentro allo specchio vostra image,
  Ciò che par duro ti parrebbe vizzo.
Ma perchè, dentro, a tuo voler t' adage,

4. *S' affigge*, 'stays.'
7. *Callaia*, 'gap.'
9. *Artezza*, 'narrowness.' — *Dispaia*, 'unmates,' i, e., separates.
11. *S' attenta*, 'ventures.' — Cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, X, 458-62.
15. *S' argomenta*, 'makes ready.'
16. *Lasciò*, 'forebore.' — *Per l' andar che*, 'although our gait' . . .
18. *Ferro:* the arrow-head.
19. *Sicuramente*, 'fearlessly.'
21. *Tocca*, 'belongs.'
27. *Vizzo*, 'soft.'
28. *A tuo voler*, 'to thy heart's content.' — *T' adage*, 'thou mayest be at ease': cf. *Inf*. III, 111.

Ecco qui Stazio, ed io lui chiamo e prego
Che sia or sanator delle tue piage.' 30
'Se la veduta eterna gli dislego,'
Rispose Stazio, 'là dove tu sie,
Discolpi me non potert' io far nego.'
Poi cominciò: 'Se le parole mie,
Figlio, la mente tua guarda e riceve, 35
Lume ti fieno al "come" che tu die.
Sangue perfetto, che mai non si beve
Dall' assetate vene, e sì rimane
Quasi alimento che di mensa leve,
Prende nel core a tutte membra umane 40
Virtute informativa, come quello
Ch' a farsi quelle per le vene vane.
Ancor digesto, scende ov' è più bello
Tacer che dire; e quindi poscia geme
Sopr' altrui sangue in natural vasello. 45
Ivi s' accoglie l' uno e l' altro insieme,
L' un disposto a patire e l' altro a fare,
Per lo perfetto loco onde si preme;
E, giunto lui, comincia ad operare,
Coagulando prima, e poi avviva 50

30. *Piage* = *piaghe*.
31. 'If I unbind his immortal sight': cf. XXI, 30.
33. 'Let my inability to refuse thee be my excuse.'
36. *Come*: l. 20. — *Die* = *dici*.
39. *Leve*, 'thou takest away.'
40. *A*, 'for.'
41. *Quello*: sc., *sangue*.
42. 'Which goes through the veins to transform itself into them (*membra*).' — *Vane* = *va*: cf. IV, 22. — For the collocation of *vene* and *vane*, cf. *Inf*. I, 36; *Par*. III, 57.
44. *Geme*, 'it trickles': cf. *Inf*. XIII, 41.
45. *Altrui*: of the female.
48. *Per*, 'because of.' — *Perfetto loco*: the heart.
49. *Giunto lui*, 'united with it': the male blood united with the female blood.
50. *Coagulando*, 'condensing.' Cf. Wisdom of Solomon, vii, 2: 'Decem mensium tempore *coagulatus* sum in sanguine, ex semine hominis.' — *Avviva*, 'gives life to.'

Ciò che per sua materia fe' constare.
Anima fatta la virtute attiva, —
Qual d' una pianta (in tanto differente,
Che quest' è in via e quella è già a riva), —
Tanto opra poi che già si move e sente, 55
Come fungo marino; ed indi imprende
Ad organar le posse ond' è semente.
Or si spiega, figliuolo, or si distende
La virtù ch' è dal cor del generante,
Ove natura a tutte membra intende. 60
Ma come d' animal divenga fante,
Non vedi tu ancor; quest' è tal punto
Che più savio di te fe' già errante
Sì che, per sua dottrina, fe' disgiunto
Dall' anima il possibile intelletto, 65
Perchè da lui non vide organo assunto.
Apri alla verità che viene il petto,
E sappi che, sì tosto come al feto
L' articular del cerebro è perfetto,
Lo Motor primo a lui si volge, lieto 70
Sopra tanta arte di natura, e spira

51. 'That which it has made consistent, to serve as its material.'
52. 'The active principle (first derived from the heart of the begetter) having become a soul.'
54. The soul of the fœtus is on its way to further development, while that of the plant is at the end of its course.
56. The sea fungus is a sponge, which is intermediate between vegetable and animal. Cf. Aristotle, *De Animalibus Historiæ*, VIII, i. See also Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, IX, 45. — *Imprende*, 'proceeds.'
57. 'To organize the faculties of which it is the germ': namely, the senses.
58. *Si spiega*, 'develops.' — *Si distende*, 'spreads.' — The subject of both verbs is *virtù* in l. 59.
59. *È dal*, 'comes from.'
60. *Ove*: in the heart. — *Intende*, 'makes provision.'
61. *Fante*, 'child': cf. XI, 66.
64. *Fe' disgiunto*, 'separated.'
65. *Possibile*, 'potential.'
66. *Assunto*, 'appropriated.'
68. *Feto*, 'embryo.'

Spirito nuovo di virtù repleto,
Che ciò che trova attivo quivi tira
In sua sustanzia, e fassi un' alma sola,
Che vive e sente, e sè in sè rigira. 75
E perchè meno ammiri la parola,
Guarda il calor del sol che si fa vino,
Giunto all' umor che dalla vite cola!
E quando Lachesìs non ha più lino,
Solvesi dalla carne, ed in virtute 80
Ne porta seco e l' umano e il divino —
L' altre potenze tutte quante mute,
Memoria, intelligenza e volontade
In atto molto più che prima acute.
Senz' arrestarsi, per sè stessa cade 85
Mirabilmente all' una delle rive;
Quivi conosce prima le sue strade.
Tosto che loco lì la circonscrive,
La virtù formativa raggia intorno,
Così e quanto nelle membra vive; 90

73, 74. 'Which absorbs into its own substance all that it finds active here (in the embryo)' — i. e., the vegetative and sensitive powers — 'and a single soul is created.'

75. *Sè in sè rigira*, 'revolves upon itself,' i. e., exists independently: cf. *Par.* II, 138.

77, 78. The 'new spirit,' when it has absorbed the already existing powers of the embryo, becomes a complete soul (vegetative, sensitive, and intellective), just as the sun's heat, uniting with the 'juice that flows from the vine,' is transformed into wine.

79. Láchesis is the fate who spins the thread of life from Clotho's 'flax': cf. XXI, 25. — For the accentuation see I, 9.

80. The subject is *alma*, l. 74. — *In virtute*, virtually, 'potentially.' The soul carries with it the divine part of man's powers and, potentially, the human part.

82. 'The other faculties being all of them dumb,' i. e., the faculties of sense being useless and therefore inactive.

83. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, X, xi, 17 and 18.

84. 'Much keener in their activity than before': these purely spiritual faculties gain by release from matter.

86. The soul 'falls' to the bank either of Acheron or of Tiber, according as it merits Hell or Purgatory.

88. 'As soon as space encompasses it there.'

90. 'In the same way, and to the same extent, that it radiated in the living limbs.'

E come l' aere, quand' è ben pïorno,
  Per l' altrui raggio che in sè si riflette,
  Di diversi color diventa adorno,
Così l' aere vicin quivi si mette
  In quella forma che in lui suggella 95
  Virtüalmente l' alma che ristette ;
E simigliante poi alla fiammella
  Che segue il foco là 'vunque si muta,
  Segue allo spirto sua forma novella.
Però che quindi ha poscia sua paruta, 100
  È chiamata ombra; e quindi organa poi
  Ciascun sentire infino alla veduta.
Quindi parliamo, e quindi ridiam noi,
  Quindi facciam le lagrime e i sospiri
  Che per lo monte aver sentiti puoi. 105
Secondo che ci affiggono i disiri
  E gli altri affetti, l' ombra si figura;
  E questa è la cagion di che tu ammiri.'
E già venuto all' ultima tortura
  S' era per noi, e volto alla man destra, 110
  Ed eravamo attenti ad altra cura.

91. *Piorno*, 'moist.' The radiation of the soul's formative power upon the surrounding air, producing the appearance of a body, is compared to the action of the sun's rays on wet atmosphere, forming a rainbow.

96. *Virtualmente*, 'by its own (formative) power.' — *Alma* is the subject of *suggella* (l. 95), 'imprints.' — *Ristette*, 'has stopped.'

99. The subject of *segue* is *forma*.

100. 'Since it (the new form) derives its visibility therefrom (from the spirit),' — just as a shadow derives its appearance from the body that casts it, — 'it is called a *shade*.'

101. *Organa*, 'organizes': cf. l. 57.

102. 'Every sense, even to that of sight.'

103. Cf. *Æn.*, IV, 733: 'Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque.'

106. *Affiggono*, 'impress.'

107. *Si figura*, 'is shaped.'

108. *Di che tu ammiri*, 'of that at which thou wonderest': ll. 20–1.

109. *Venuto . . . s' era per noi*, 'we had come': cf. XXII, 85; *Inf.* I, 126. — *Tortura*, 'twist,' turn: circle of Purgatory.

Quivi la ripa fiamma in fuor balestra,
E la cornice spira fiato in suso
Che la riflette e via da lei sequestra;
Onde ir ne convenìa dal lato schiuso 115
Ad uno ad uno, ed io temeva il foco
Quinci, e quindi temea cadere in giuso.
Lo Duca mio dicea: 'Per questo loco
Si vuol tenere agli occhi stretto il freno,
Però ch' errar potrebbesi per poco.' 120
'*Summæ Deus clementïæ*' nel seno
Al grande ardore allora udii cantando,
Che di volger mi fe' caler non meno;
E vidi spirti per la fiamma andando.
Per ch' io guardava a loro ed a' miei passi, 125
Compartendo la vista a quando a quando.
Appresso il fine ch' a quell' inno fassi,
Gridavano alto: '*Virum non cognosco!*'
Indi ricominciavan l' inno bassi.
Finitolo, anco gridavano: 'Al bosco 130
Si tenne Diana, ed Elice caccionne,
Che di Venere avea sentito il tosco.'

114. The upright bank on the left shoots forth, all the way around, a continuous horizontal flame, which extends across the terrace; but a wind blows up vertically along the mountain-side, and, deflecting upward the outer edge of the ring of flame, 'secures a path from it' on the outside rim of the shelf. Fire is the symbol of purification from lust.

119. *Stretto il freno*, 'a tight rein.'

121. *Summæ Deus clementiæ*, 'God of clemency supreme,' is the beginning, in old breviaries, of the hymn sung on Saturday at matins, praying for purification by fire and cleanness of heart and body. It is attributed to St. Ambrose. Cf. A. Bonaventura, *Dante e la musica*, 1904, 91.

123. *Caler*, 'care.'

128. 'I know not a man,' is the reply of Mary to the angel at the Annunciation: Luke i, 34. After each singing of the hymn the souls call aloud an example of chastity. The examples of lust are proclaimed (as we shall see in the next canto) by two troops of shades as they pass.

131. The chaste goddess Diana banished her nymph Helïce, who had been seduced by Jupiter: *Met.*, II, 453–65. Helice (or Callisto) and her child form the constellations of the Great and Little Bear.

Indi al cantar tornavano; indi donne
  Gridavano e mariti che fur casti,
  Come virtute e matrimonio imponne. 135
E questo modo credo che lor basti
  Per tutto il tempo che il foco gli abbrucia;
  Con tal cura convien, con cotai pasti
Che la piaga dassezzo si ricucia.

135. *Imponne,* 'enjoin upon us.'
136. *Basti,* 'lasts': cf. *Inf.* XXIX, 89.
138. *Cura,* 'treatment.' — *Pasti,* 'diet.'
139. *Dassezzo,* 'finally': cf. *Inf.* VII, 130. — *Si ricucia,* 'shall be knit,' healed.

CANTO XXVI

ARGUMENT

Around the ledge of carnal vice there go circling through the fire, in opposite directions, two ghostly companies, composed of the abnormally and the normally lecherous. As they meet, they exchange a kiss of pure brotherly affection, such as the early Christians gave one another in their services. Then, on parting, they all rebuke themselves, the members of the first troop shouting 'Sodom and Gomorrah!' (Gen. xix, 1–28), those of the second recalling the bestial sin of Pasiphaë. This woman, the wife of King Minos of Crete (*Inf.* V, 4), being cursed by Venus with a passion for a bull, satisfied her lust by concealing herself in a wooden cow: *Æn.*, VI, 24–6; *Met.*, VIII, 132-7. The fruit of their union was the Minotaur (*Inf.* XII, 11–3). In the Middle Ages her story was interpreted allegorically.

Among those whose offence was not contrary to nature is Guido Guinizelli of Bologna, the most important Italian writer before Dante. He was mayor of Castelfranco in 1270 and died in 1276. Like Arnaut Daniel, he is doubtless consigned to this circle on the general ground that he was a sincere poet of love. At first he looked upon Guittone d' Arezzo (XXIV, 56) as his literary master, and followed the current artificial fashion; but later he took a new direction, expressing real feeling and earnest thought in verse whose ease, clearness, and harmony made him an excellent model for the next generation. In his famous poem, *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore* (*Vulg. El.*, II, v, 41–2; I, ix, 28–30), is rhymed for the first time the new symbolic conception of love, which was adopted by Dante and his group. Guido was thus doubly a predecessor of the *dolce stil nuovo* (XXIV, 57); and Dante's affectionate cry of admiration and gratitude, in lines 94–8, testifies to the magnitude of his debt. In the tenth sonnet of the *Vita Nuova*, l. 14, Dante refers to him as 'il Saggio'; in the *Convivio*, IV, xx, 67 he is 'quel nobile Guido Guinizelli'; and in *De Vulgari Eloquentia* he is cited four times, once (I, xv, 41) as 'maximus.'

It must have been this same sentiment of gratitude, always

dominant in Dante's heart, that led him to award the palm in modern Gallic literature to the 12th century troubadour, Arnaut Daniel, who to our taste seems, to be sure, the most minutely ingenious and metrically resourceful, but at the same time one of the most laborious and tiresome of the Provençal versifiers. His works are a mosaic of odd conceits and rare and difficult forms. The *sestina*, imitated by Alighieri and Petrarch, is one of his inventions. Three of his compositions are cited in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, where he is mentioned four times. Dante, — as he tells us in the *Vita Nuova*, III, 69–71, — learned by himself 'the art of uttering words in rhyme,' and he can have done so only by studying attentively the works of his predecessors, preëminent among whom was surely Arnaut Daniel. To Arnaut, then, more than to any one else, he owed (or thought he owed) his command of metrical form; as far as the *sestina* is concerned, he expressly acknowledges his indebtedness in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, II, x, 24–8. That is why, in our canto, Guido rates the clever troubadour above himself, calling him 'a better smith of the mother tongue.' 'Verse of love and prose of romance . . . ' continues Guido, 'he surpassed them all.' Provençal was the first language of amatory poetry (*Vulg. El.*, I, x, 20–5), French the recognized idiom of narrative and didactic literature and of any kind of prose (*Vulg. El.*, I, x, 12–20); 'romance' signified originally a literary composition in the vulgar tongue. Arnaut, as far as we are aware, never wrote in French nor in prose; Guido means simply that he was superior to all other authors of Gaul, whether they used verse or prose, Provençal or French. It is in quite a different sense that Guittone d'Arezzo says, in a lament on the death of another Aretine poet (*Chomune perta fa comun dolore*, 20–1):

> 'Francesca lingua e poensal labore
> Più de l' artina [i. e., aretina] è bene in te.'

'Let fools talk on,' — adds Guido, — 'who think that the Limousin poet excels.' Many songsters (among them Arnaut himself) were of Limousin origin, but the particular one here indicated is evidently Giraut de Bornelh, a younger contemporary of Arnaut; according to his Provençal biographer, he was called 'the master of the troubadours,' and others bear witness to his high repute. His poetry, much of which has survived, justifies in some measure his great fame. He was the principal champion of the clear style, as Arnaut was perhaps the best representative of the purposely obscure. Dante cites him once in the *Convivio* and four times in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. In the latter work, II, ii, 77–98, he speaks

of Bertran de Born as a poet of arms, Arnaut and Cino da Pistoia as poets of love, and Giraut and himself as poets of righteousness. When he wrote the *Purgatorio*, he evidently regarded Giraut as artistically inferior to Arnaut — perhaps too popular and commonplace to merit the highest rank, which 'fools' had accorded him.

The same undeserved glory had been enjoyed by Guittone d'Arezzo (XXIV, 56), on whom alone 'many people of old' bestowed praise, — following fashion 'from cry to cry,' — until at last 'the truth has got the better of him, as concerns more men than one' — that is, the superiority of several other writers (Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, Dante, Cino?) is now acknowledged. This Guittone, though a prolific imitator of the Provençal school in his amatory verse, had a good deal of vigor and eccentric ingenuity and originality, but was poor in sentiment and unhappily destitute of the sense of beauty. He is better in his religious, moral, and especially his political poetry, where his fierce irony is very effective. He was also one of the first to attempt artistic Italian prose. He joined the order of the Frati Gaudenti (*Inf.* XXIII, 103), founded a monastery in Florence, and died in 1294. In *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, I, xiii, 1–8, Dante blames him for using his local dialect.

For the poets discussed, see: A. Bongioanni, *Guido Guinizelli e la sua riforma poetica*, 1896; W. Kolsen, *Guittone's von Arezzo Dichtung und sein Verhältnis zu Guinicelli von Bologna*, 1886; A. Pellizari, *La vita e le opere di Guittone d'Arezzo*, 1906; U. A. Canellò, *La vita e le opere del trovatore Arnaldo Daniello*, 1883; A. Kolsen, *Sämtliche Lieder des Trobadors Giraut de Bornelh*, 1907.

Mentre che sì per l' orlo, uno innanzi altro,
  Ce n' andavamo, e spesso il buon Maestro
  Diceva: 'Guarda! Giovi ch' io ti scaltro,'
Feriami il Sole in sull' omero destro,
  Che già raggiando tutto l' occidente 5
  Mutava in bianco aspetto, di cilestro;
Ed io facea con l' ombra più rovente

3. *Giovi*, 'let it avail.' — *Scaltro*, 'warn.'
4. The travellers are now on the west-northwest side of the mountain, which receives the direct rays of the sun in the latter part of the afternoon. Dante, facing south-southwest, has the sun on his right.
6. *Di cilestro*, 'from blue.'
7. As Dante passes along close to the mass of flame, in which the spirits are walking, his shadow, cast on the fire at his left, restores to it its natural 'ruddy' hue, which the sunlight has paled.

Parer la fiamma. E pure a tanto indizio
Vid' io molt' ombre andando poner mente.
Questa fu la cagion che diede inizio 10
Loro a parlar di me; e cominciarsi
A dir: 'Colui non par corpo fittizio.'
Poi verso me, quanto potevan farsi,
Certi si feron, sempre con riguardo
Di non uscir dove non fossero arsi. 15
'O tu che vai — non per esser più tardo,
Ma forse reverente — agli altri dopo,
Rispondi a me che in sete ed in foco ardo!
Nè solo a me la tua risposta è uopo;
Chè tutti questi n' hanno maggior sete 20
Che d' acqua fredda Indo o Etïopo.
Dinne com' è che fai di te parete
Al sol, come se tu non fossi ancora
Di morte entrato dentro dalla rete.'
Sì mi parlava un d' essi; ed io mi fora 25
Già manifesto, s' io non fossi atteso
Ad altra novità ch' apparse allora.
Chè per lo mezzo del cammino acceso
Venia gente col viso incontro a questa,
La qual mi fece a rimirar sospeso. 30
Lì veggio d' ogni parte farsi presta
Ciascun' ombra, e baciarsi una con una,
Senza restar, contente a breve festa.
Così per entro loro schiera bruna

8. *Pure a tanto indizio*, 'merely at this slight sign' that Dante is clothed in flesh.
14. *Certi*, 'some.' — *Riguardo*, 'care.'
21. Cf. Pr. xxv, 25: 'As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country.'
31. *Farsi presta*, 'hasten.'

S' ammusa l' una con l' altra formica, 35
Forse ad espiar lor via e lor fortuna.
Tosto che parton l' accoglienza amica,
Prima che il primo passo lì trascorra,
Sopragridar ciascuna s' affatica —
La nuova gente: 'Soddoma e Gomorra!' 40
E l' altra: 'Nella vacca entra Pasife,
Perchè il torello a sua lussuria corra!'
Poi come gru ch' alle montagne Rife
Volasser parte, e parte inver l' arene, —
Queste del gel, quelle del sole schife, — 45
L' una gente sen va, l' altra sen viene,
E tornan lagrimando ai primi canti
Ed al gridar che più lor si conviene.
E raccostarsi a me, come davanti,
Essi medesmi che m' avean pregato, 50
Attenti ad ascoltar nei lor sembianti.
Io, che due volte avea visto lor grato,
Incominciai: 'O anime sicure
D' aver, quando che sia, di pace stato,

35. *S' ammusa*, 'rubs noses.' In *Æn.*, IV, 402–7, and *Met.*, VII, 624–6, there are descriptions of ants at work, but the trait here cited seems to have been first noted by Dante.
36. *Espiar* (or *spiar*), 'inquire.'
37. *Parton*, 'break off.'
38. *Trascorra*, 'passes on': cf. *Inf.* XXV, 34.
39. *Sopragridar*, 'to outcry' the other.
40. Cf. *Inf.* XI, 50.
41. *Pasife*, 'Pasíphaë': cf. *Inf.* XII, 13.
43. The 'Riphæan mountains' were placed by early geographers in the extreme north.
44. The two flocks of cranes, one flying north and the other south at the same time, are hypothetical, as is shown by the imperfect subjunctive *volasser*. — 'The sands' are the deserts of Libya.
45. Cf. *Phars.*, VII, 832–4:

> 'Vos, quæ Nilo mutare soletis,
> Threïcias hiemes ad mollem serius Austrum
> Istis, aves.'

52. *Due volte*: cf. ll. 16–24. — *Grato*, 'wish.'

Non son rimase — acerbe nè mature — 55
Le membra mie di là, ma son qui meco
Col sangue suo e con le sue giunture.
Quinci su vo per non esser più cieco.
Donna è di sopra, che n' acquista grazia
Per che il mortal pel vostro mondo reco. 60
Ma se la vostra maggior voglia sazia
Tosto divenga, sì che il ciel v' alberghi
Ch' è pien d' amore e più ampio si spazia,
Ditemi, acciocchè ancor carte ne verghi,
Chi siete voi, e chi è quella turba 65
Che se ne va diretro ai vostri terghi?'
Non altrimenti stupido si turba
Lo montanaro, e rimirando ammuta,
Quando rozzo e salvatico s' inurba,
Che ciascun' ombra fece in sua paruta. 70
Ma poi che furon di stupore scarche
(Lo qual negli alti cor tosto s' attuta),
'Beato te, che delle nostre marche,'
Ricominciò colei che pria m' inchiese,
'Per morir meglio esperïenza imbarche! 75
La gente che non vien con noi offese
Di ciò per che già Cesar, trïonfando,

55. *Acerbe*, 'green,' i. e., young.
59. *Donna:* probably the Virgin Mary. Cf. *Inf.* II, 94–6; *Par.* XXXIII, 13–5.
60. *Il mortal*, 'my mortal part.'
61. *Se*, 'as ye hope that' . . . . : the hortative use.
62. *Il ciel*, 'that heaven': the Empyrean.
64. *Verghi*, 'write.' Cf. *Inf.* XXXII, 93.
69. *S' inurba*, 'he comes to town.'
70. *Paruta*, 'expression.'
71. *Scarche*, 'unburdened,' rid: cf. *Inf.* XVII, 135.
72. *S' attuta*, 'is stilled.'
73. *Delle nostre marche* depends on *esperienza* in l. 75.
75. *Imbarche*, 'dost ship.'
77. Ugguccione da Pisa in his *Magnæ Derivationes* (cited in *Conv.*, IV, vi, 39–40), combining two anecdotes from Suetonius, relates that Cæsar, returning to Rome in triumph, was hailed by some one as 'queen': Toynbee, 118. It is not likely that Dante believed in the charge of sodomy brought against Cæsar.

"Regina" contra sè chiamar s' intese.
Però si parton "Soddoma" gridando,
Rimproverando a sè, com' hai udito, 80
Ed aiutan l' arsura vergognando.
Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito;
Ma perchè non servammo umana legge,
Seguendo come bestie l' appetito,
In obbrobrio di noi, per noi si legge, 85
Quando partiamci, il nome di colei
Che s' imbestiò nell' imbestiate schegge.
Or sai nostri atti, e di che fummo rei.
Se forse a nome vuoi saper chi semo,
Tempo non è da dire, e non saprei. 90
Farotti ben di me volere scemo:
Son Guido Guinizelli, e già mi purgo
Per ben dolermi prima ch' allo stremo.'
Quali nella tristizia di Licurgo
Si fer due figli a riveder la madre, 95
Tal mi fec' io (ma non a tanto insurgo),
Quand' i' odo nomar sè stesso il padre
Mio, e degli altri miei miglior, che mai

82. *Ermafrodito*, 'hermaphrodite,' i. e., bisexual, not contrary to nature. Hermaphroditus was the son of Hermes and Aphrodite, and resembled both his parents, whence his name: *Met.*, IV, 290–1. He fused with the nymph Salmacis into one body that was of both sexes: *Met.*, IV, 285–388.

85. *Per noi si legge*, 'is recited by us.'

87. *Imbestiate schegge*, 'beastlike boards' of the wooden cow.

91. 'I will, indeed, diminish (i. e., rid) thee of wish (i. e., curiosity) about me.'

93. 'Because of righteous sorrow before the end of life': cf. XIII, 124.

94. Hypsipyle (*Inf.* XVIII, 92), to show the thirsty Greeks the fountain of Langia (*Purg.* XXII, 112), left Archemorus (*Conv.*, III, xi, 165–9), the child of King Lycurgus of Nemea, who had been entrusted to her. A serpent killed the child, and the father, blinded by 'grief' and rage, was about to have her put to death, when her two sons suddenly rushed in and saved her. Cf. Statius, *Thebaid*, V, especially 718 ff.

96. Dante is as full of delight and love as Hypsipyle's sons 'on seeing their mother again,' and would like to plunge into the fire and clasp Guido to his heart, as they embraced their mother, but he does not 'rise to such a pitch,' being afraid of the flame.

Rime d' amore usar dolci e leggiadre;
E senza udire e dir pensoso andai 100
Lunga fïata rimirando lui,
Nè per lo foco in là più m' appressai.
Poi che di riguardar pasciuto fui,
Tutto m' offersi pronto al suo servigio,
Con l' affermar che fa credere altrui. 105
Ed egli a me: 'Tu lasci tal vestigio
(Per quel ch' i' odo) in me, e tanto chiaro,
Che Letè nol può tor nè farlo bigio.
Ma se le tue parole or ver giuraro,
Dimmi che è cagion per che dimostri 110
Nel dire e nel guardare avermi caro?'
Ed io a lui: 'Li dolci detti vostri
Che, quanto durerà l' uso moderno,
Faranno cari ancora i loro inchiostri.'
'O frate,' disse, 'questi ch' io ti scerno 115
Col dito' — ed additò un spirto innanzi —
'Fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno.
Versi d' amore e prose di romanzi
Soperchiò tutti; e lascia dir gli stolti
Che quel di Lemosì credon ch' avanzi. 120
A voce più ch' al ver drizzan li volti,
E così ferman sua opinïone
Prima ch' arte o ragion per lor s' ascolti.
Così fer molti antichi di Guittone,
Di grido in grido pur lui dando pregio, 125

106. *Vestigio*, 'impression.'
108. Lethe is the traditional river of oblivion. — *Bigio*, 'dim.'
113. The 'modern use' of the vulgar tongue in poetry was still comparatively new in 1300: cf. *V. N.*, XXV, 22–43.
115. *Scerno*, 'designate.'
121. *Voce*, 'report.'
122. *Ferman*, 'fix.' — *Sua*, 'their.'
123. *Per*, 'by.'

Fin che l' ha vinto il ver con più persone.
Or se tu hai sì ampio privilegio
Che licito ti sia l' andare al chiostro
Nel quale è Cristo abate del collegio,
Fagli per me un dir di un paternostro, 130
Quanto bisogna a noi di questo mondo,
Dove poter peccar non è più nostro.'
Poi forse per dar loco altrui secondo,
Che presso avea, disparve per lo foco,
Come per l' acqua pesce andando al fondo. 135
Io mi feci al mostrato innanzi un poco,
E dissi ch' al suo nome il mio disire
Apparecchiava grazïoso loco.
Ei cominciò liberamente a dire:
'*Tan m' abellis vostre cortes deman* 140
Qu'ieu no me puesc, ni-m voil a vos cobrire:
Ieu sui Arnaut, que plor, e vau cantan.
Consiros vei la passada folor,
E vei jauzen lo jorn qu' esper, denan.
Ara vos prec, per aquella valor 145
Que vos guida al som de l' escalina,
Sovenha vos a temps de ma dolor!'
Poi s' ascose nel foco che gli affina.

131. Omitting 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil': cf. XI, 19–24.
133. *Altrui secondo*, 'suited to another.'
140–7. 'Your courteous inquiry so pleases me that I cannot and will not conceal myself from you: I am Arnaut, who weep and go singing. Sadly I see my past folly, and joyously I see before me the day that I await. Now I pray you, by that power which guides you to the top of this stairway, while it is yet time be heedful of my pain!' — These Provençal verses are presumably of Dante's own composition.
148. *Affina*, 'purifies.'

CANTO XXVII

ARGUMENT

In mediæval legend the Earthly Paradise is generally situated in an inaccessible spot, often surrounded by a barrier of flame. In both Germanic and Celtic myth a wall of fire occurs. The Bible also offers a hint of it, in Gen. iii, 24: 'And he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way.' Tertullian, Lactantius, St. John Chrysostom, Isidore, and, after him, many others speak of the fiery wall. Dante makes his encircling fire serve a double purpose: it obstructs, according to tradition, the road to the home of terrestrial bliss, and at the same time it constitutes the punishment of the last cornice. 'Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth,' — says St. Paul in Colossians iii, 5, — 'fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection.' In the *Moralia*, XXI, xii, 688, St. Gregory declares: 'Si per cordis munditiam libidinis flamma non extinguitur, incassum quælibet virtutes oriuntur.' The burning path signifies the quenching of carnal desire by purification of the heart. This penance is imposed upon Dante, who now, for the first time in Purgatory, recoils from his duty. A high pitch of excitement is reached in the brief scene of Virgil's impassioned exhortation and his pupil's stubborn refusal. Not until the master invokes the name of Beatrice, whose image once before turned the youthful poet from unworthy love (*V. N.*, XL, 1–16), can Dante be induced to obey. Then, preceded by Virgil and followed by Statius (who apparently do not feel the heat), he traverses the flames.

Previous to this trial, there comes to Dante, in the hour before dawn, the third of his prophetic dreams. He is in reality about to visit the Garden of Eden, the abode of innocence and harmless activity, from which he is to rise to Heaven, the goal of contemplation. Consequently the active and the contemplative life are revealed to him in the form of Laban's daughters, Leah and Rachel, the fertile and the barren wife of Jacob (Gen. xxix, 10–35). From early Christian times their story has been interpreted as an allegory of work and meditation: cf. St. Thomas, *Summa*

Theologiæ, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. clxxix, Art. 2. In *De Monarchia*, III, xvi, 43–52, Dante distinguishes two kinds of divinely ordained human blessedness: 'beatitudinem scilicet huius vitæ, quæ in operatione propriæ virtutis consistit, et per terrestrem Paradisum figuratur; et beatitudinem vitæ eternæ, quæ consistit in fruitione divini aspectus ad quam propria virtus ascendere non potest, nisi lumine divino adiuta, quæ per Paradisum cœlestem intelligi datur.' Leah's innocent activity is symbolized by picking flowers to adorn herself; Rachel's contemplation, by gazing into a mirror, where she is 'eager to see her own beauteous eyes.' In the *Convivio*, III, xv, 12–15, the eyes of Wisdom are defined as 'its *demonstrations*, with which the Truth is unerringly beheld' (cf. Canzone II, 55–8). The idea of Philosophy cherishing and jealously guarding the image of her own eyes is strikingly worked out in Ballata X, 12–20.

Sì come quando i primi raggi vibra
  Là dove il suo Fattore il sangue sparse, —
  Cadendo Ibero sotto l' alta Libra,
E l' onde in Gange da nona rïarse, —
  Sì stava il sole (onde il giorno sen giva), 5
  Quando l' Angel di Dio lieto ci apparse.
Fuor della fiamma stava in sulla riva,
  E cantava: '*Beati mundo corde!*'
  In voce assai più che la nostra viva.
Poscia: 'Più non si va, se pria non morde, 10
  Anime sante, il foco. Entrate in esso,
  Ed al cantar di là non siate sorde,'
Ci disse, come noi gli fummo presso.
  Per ch' io divenni tal, quando lo intesi,

1. The time described is the approach of sunset. The sun was in the position it occupies when it 'shoots its first rays' upon Jerusalem. Dawn in Jerusalem is simultaneous with sunset in Purgatory.

3. It is midnight at the Strait of Gibraltar: the river Ebro is coming under the constellation of Libra, which is opposite Aries.

4. The sun, in Aries, is over eastern Asia, so that the waters of the river Ganges are 'scorched by noon.' Dante discusses the meaning of *nona* in *Conv.*, IV, xxiii, 156–60.

8. Mat. v, 8: 'Blessed are the pure in heart.'

Quale è colui che nella fossa è messo. 15
In sulle man commesse mi protesi,
Guardando il foco, e imaginando forte
Umani corpi già veduti accesi.
Volsersi verso me le buone scorte,
E Virgilio mi disse: 'Figliuol mio, 20
Qui può esser tormento, ma non morte.
Ricordati, ricordati! . . . E se io
Sopr' esso Gerïon ti guidai salvo,
Che farò ora presso più a Dio?
Credi per certo che, se dentro all' alvo 25
Di questa fiamma stessi ben mill' anni,
Non ti potrebbe far d' un capel calvo.
E se tu credi forse ch' io t' inganni,
Fatti ver lei, e fatti far credenza
Con le tue mani al lembo de' tuoi panni. 30
Pon giù omai, pon giù ogni temenza!
Volgiti in qua, e vieni oltre sicuro!'
Ed io pur fermo, e contro a coscïenza.
Quando mi vide star pur fermo e duro,
Turbato un poco, disse: 'Or vedi, figlio, 35
Tra Beatrice e te è questo muro.'
Come al nome di Tisbe aperse il ciglio

15. I became as cold as a corpse.
16. 'I leaned forward over my hands,' which were 'clasped' in front of me.
18. Burning to death was not an uncommon punishment. Dante was himself condemned to death by fire, if taken in Florentine territory.
23. *Gerion:* cf. *Inf.* XVII, 91–136.
25. *Alvo*, 'midst.'
27. Luke xxi, 18: 'But there shall not an hair of your head perish.' Cf. Daniel iii, 25, 27.
33. The verb is omitted.
35. *Turbato*, 'vexed.'
37. The tragic story of the young lovers, Pyramus and Thisbe, is told in *Met.*, IV, 55–166. See especially 145–6:

'Ad nomen Thisbes oculos jam morte gravatos
Pyramus erexit, visaque recondidit illa.'

Piramo in sulla morte, e riguardolla,
Allor che il gelso diventò vermiglio.
Così, la mia durezza fatta solla, 40
Mi volsi al savio Duca, udendo il nome
Che nella mente sempre mi rampolla.
Ond' ei crollò la fronte, e disse: 'Come?
Volemci star di qua?' Indi sorrise,
Come al fanciul si fa ch' è vinto al pome. 45
Poi dentro al foco innanzi mi si mise,
Pregando Stazio che venisse retro,
Che pria per lunga strada ci divise.
Come fui dentro, in un bogliente vetro
Gittato mi sarei per rinfrescarmi, 50
Tant' era ivi lo incendio senza metro.
Lo dolce Padre mio, per confortarmi,
Pur di Beatrice ragionando andava,
Dicendo: 'Gli occhi suoi già veder parmi.'
Guidavaci una voce che cantava 55
Di là; e noi, attenti pure a lei,
Venimmo fuor là dove si montava.
'*Venite, benedicti patris mei!*'
Sonò dentro ad un lume che lì era,
Tal che mi vinse, e guardar nol potei. 60
'Lo sol sen va,' soggiunse, 'e vien la sera.
Non v' arrestate, ma studiate il passo,

39. The mulberry turned red on being spattered with the blood of Pyramus, who stabbed himself when he thought Thisbe slain by a lion: *Met.*, IV, 125–7.
40. *Fatta solla*, 'softened': cf. V, 18; *Inf.*, XVI, 28.
42. *Rampolla*, 'springs up anew': cf. V, 16.
45. *Pome = pomo:* cf. *l.* 115.
48. Cf. XXII, 127–8.
58. Mat. xxv, 34: 'Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, *Come, ye blessed of my Father*, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.'
59. The 'light' is of course an angel, perhaps the guardian of Eden. We are not told how the last letter is removed from Dante's brow.

Mentre che l' occidente non s' annera.'
Dritta salia la via, per entro il sasso,
Verso tal parte ch' io toglieva i raggi 65
Dinanzi a me del sol ch' era già basso.
E di pochi scaglion levammo i saggi,
Che il sol corcar, — per l' ombra che si spense, —
Sentimmo retro ed io e li miei saggi.
E pria che in tutte le sue parti immense 70
Fosse orizzonte fatto d' un aspetto,
E notte avesse tutte sue dispense,
Ciascun di noi d' un grado fece letto;
Chè la natura del monte ci affranse
La possa del salir più che il diletto. 75
Quali si fanno ruminando manse
Le capre, state rapide e proterve
Sopra le cime, avanti che sien pranse,
Tacite all' ombra, mentre che il sol ferve,
Guardate dal pastor che in sulla verga 80
Poggiato s' è, e lor poggiato serve;
E quale il mandrïan, che fuori alberga,
Lungo il peculio suo queto pernotta,
Guardando perchè fiera non lo sperga:
Tali eravamo tutti e tre allotta, 85

65. The stairway, on the west side of the mountain, goes straight up, from west to east, so that the climbers turn their backs to the setting sun and Dante's shadow falls on the steps in front of him.

67. *Levammo i saggi*, 'we took samples,' i. e., we made trial. — For the rhyme of *saggi* with *saggi* (l. 69), cf. *Inf.* XXII, 75.

71. *Orizzonte* is the subject of *fosse fatto*.

72. *Notte* is the subject of *avesse*. — *Dispense*, exemptions, 'privileges.'

75. 'The strength, rather than the desire, to climb.' Cf. VII, 49-60.

76. *Manse*, 'tame.'

77. *State*, 'which have been.' — *Proterve*, 'wild.'

78. *Sien pranse*, 'have dined.'

80. *Verga*, 'staff.'

81. *E lor poggiato serve*, 'and, leaning, tends them.'

83. 'Spends the night beside his quiet flock.'

84. *Sperga*, 'scatter.'

Io come capra, ed ei come pastori,
Fasciati quinci e quindi d' alta grotta.
Poco potea parer lì del di fuori;
Ma per quel poco vedev' io le stelle,
Di lor solere e più chiare e maggiori. 90
Sì ruminando e sì mirando in quelle
Mi prese il sonno — il sonno che sovente,
Anzi che il fatto sia, sa le novelle.
Nell' ora, credo, che dell' oriente
Prima raggiò nel monte Citerea, 95
Che di foco d' amor par sempre ardente,
Giovane e bella in sogno mi parea
Donna vedere andar per una landa
Cogliendo fiori, e cantando dicea:
'Sappia, qualunque il mio nome domanda, 100
Ch' io mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno
Le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.
Per piacermi allo specchio qui m' adorno;
Ma mia suora Rachel mai non si smaga
Dal suo miraglio, e siede tutto giorno. 105
Ell' è de' suoi begli occhi veder vaga,
Com' io dell' adornarmi con le mani;
Lei lo vedere, e me l' oprare appaga.'
E già, per gli splendori antelucani,

87. *Fasciati*, 'swathed,' i. e., hemmed in by the 'high wall' on either side of the narrow stairs, which are cut into the rock.

90. *Di lor solere*, 'than their wont.' Seen through the narrow crack, the stars look big and bright; allegorically, Dante's perception of heavenly things is clearer. It is not likely that Dante thought of the mountain as high enough to bring him appreciably nearer to the stars.

95. Cytherēa is Venus, so called from the island of Cythera, where she rose from the sea. Venus shines on Purgatory shortly before sunrise: cf. I, 19–21.

102. Garlands of flowers were often worn by ladies in Dante's time: cf. Sestina I, 13; Ballata VIII, 1.

104. *Si smaga*, 'departs.'

109. *Antelucani*, 'preceding dawn.' Cf. Wisdom of Solomon xi, 23: 'Tamquam gutta roris antelucani.'

Che tanto ai peregrin surgon più grati 110
Quanto tornando albergan men lontani,
Le tenebre fuggian da tutti i lati,
E il sonno mio con esse; ond' io leva'mi,
Veggendo i gran maestri già levati.
'Quel dolce pome, che per tanti rami 115
Cercando va la cura dei mortali,
Oggi porrà in pace le tue fami.'
Virgilio inverso me queste cotali
Parole usò, e mai non furo strenne
Che fosser di piacere a queste eguali. 120
Tanto voler sopra voler mi venne
Dell' esser su, ch' ad ogni passo poi
Al volo mi sentia crescer le penne.
Come la scala tutta sotto noi
Fu corsa, e fummo in su il grado superno, 125
In me ficcò Virgilio gli occhi suoi,
E disse: 'Il temporal foco e l' eterno
Veduto hai, figlio, e sei venuto in parte
Dov' io per me più oltre non discerno.
Tratto t' ho qui con ingegno e con arte. 130
Lo tuo piacere omai prendi per duce!
Fuor sei dell' erte vie, fuor sei dell' arte.
Vedi là il sol che in fronte ti riluce;
Vedi l' erbetta, i fiori e gli arbuscelli,

111. 'As, on their way back, their lodging is less distant,' i. e., as they approach home on their return journey.
115. The 'sweet apple' seems to signify earthly happiness. Cf. *Inf.* XVI, 61.
116. *Cura* is the subject.
127. The 'temporal fire' is that of Purgatory, the 'eternal' that of Hell.
129. Reason has guided Dante to earthly beatitude, but can lead him no higher.
131. Now that Dante's soul has been cleansed and his will set free from the bondage of vice, all his impulses are necessarily good.
132. *Arte*, 'narrow.' For the rhyme, cf. l. 67.

Che qui la terra sol da sè produce. 135
Mentre che vegnan lieti gli occhi belli
Che lagrimando a te venir mi fenno,
Seder ti puoi e puoi andar tra elli.
Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno.
Libero, dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio, 140
E fallo fora non fare a suo senno;
Per ch' io te sopra te corono e mitrio.'

135. Cf. XXVIII, 69. Also *Met.*, I, 101–2.
136. *Mentre che*, 'until.'
137. Cf. *Inf.*, II, 116.
140. The freedom after which all the souls in Purgatory are striving (I, 71) has been attained. The will turns naturally toward God. Evil inclinations have been purged away, although remorse still remains, to be removed in the Garden of Eden. In order to see God, Dante must earn and obtain remission of sin.
141. 'It would be wrong not to act as it directs.'
142. 'Wherefore I crown and mitre thee over thyself,' i. e., I make thee thine own Emperor and Pope, master of thy material and spiritual life.

CANTO XXVIII

ARGUMENT

'And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden. . . . And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it' (Gen. ii, 8, 15). This terrestrial paradise naturally offered itself to Dante as a symbol of the youth or golden age of mankind, the life of innocent activity which, but for Adam's sin, humanity would have enjoyed, without death, until the Judgment Day. But the garden was to him not a symbol alone: it was a real spot, still in existence in a remote quarter of the globe. Mediæval literature is rich in tales of journeys to it. Ephraim the Syrian, deacon of Edessa in the fourth century, tells us that it is circular, situated on a high mountain surrounded by the sea, and divided into an outer, and an inner, more sacred, part. Barinthus, in the *Voyage of St. Brendan* (p. 4), finds on his island paradise a river which cannot be crossed; and St. Brendan himself, in his 'terra repromissionis sanctorum' (p. 35), sees fruit trees, and a river running through the middle. In the Old Venetian version of the story (Ch. XXXI, XXXVII), the beautiful trees and birds are enlarged upon, and the river occurs again (Ch. XLII). This stream goes back to the Bible, Gen. ii, 10: 'And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads,' namely Pison (or Ganges), Gihon (the Nile), Hiddekel (Tigris), and Euphrates. Those who located the garden on an island were hard pressed to account for the transfer of these 'four heads' to the mainland; it was sometimes maintained — by St. Augustine, for example (*De Genesi ad Litteram*, VIII, vii) — that they burrowed under ground. Dante perhaps had some such idea, but he wisely refrained from expressing it. His river is divided, from its very source in the middle of the earthly paradise, into two branches, Lethe and Eunoe, which flow out on opposite sides. So Brendan and his companions (p. 7) 'viderunt ripam altissimam sicut murum et diversos rivulos discendentes de summitate insule, fluentes in mare.' It may be their spray which falls upon the two trees in the circle of gluttony. It is perhaps Lethe, with its burden

of sinful recollection, that bores its crooked way from the shore of the island to the feet of Satan; in that case Eunoe would presumably have to be, at some spot, the source of the four great streams of the inhabited world. On these points Dante is silent. What concerns him is the allegorical significance of the waters. Of Lethe, the ancient river of oblivion, and Eunoe, a stream of his own devising, he makes the symbol of absolution, the remission of sin, the complete restoration of purity. Lethe means forgetfulness of past wrongdoing; Eunoe, memory of past good work. This last name our poet seems to have constructed for himself out of the Greek εὔνοια (*Bull.*, XI, 238), or directly from εὖ, 'well,' and νοῦς or νόος, 'mind.'

It is on the morning of Wednesday, April 13, the sixth day of his journey, and the fourth of his sojourn on the island, that Dante enters the abode of earthly happiness. His daintily phrased account of it combines into an artistic whole the various conventional elements of the mediæval Eden. One factor, however, is lacking — the traditional inhabitants, Enoch and Elijah. In the *Apocalypse of St. Paul* (p. 18), after the apostle has seen the four great rivers in the terrestrial paradise, he is greeted by Enoch, Elijah, and seven other patriarchs. The first two became almost constant features of the garden. In the Venetian *Brendan* both occur — Enoch, by the way, under the name of *Enoe* (Ch. XXXVIII). Ever since they were caught up from this world, they have lived, in flesh and blood, in the 'paradiso delitiarum,' whence, on the Judgment Day, they are to go forth to fight against the Antichrist. In addition, we find (Ch. XLII), near the dividing stream, a beautiful youth, who sings sweetly. There is also a lovely angel (XL), 'si chomo uno fante de. XV. any,' who lights on a tree full of golden apples; he, too, sings, 'e fo canto d' amor fato si como de femena donzela ad un so amador.' Fra Benedetto d' Arezzo, in his journey to the terrestrial paradise, also meets at the foot of a mountain a beautiful youth, who shows him the way up (*Giorn. dant.*, IX, 43). In the Latin *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, the youthful figure is already present beside the river (p. 35): 'Ecce juvenis occurrit illis obviam osculans eos cum magna leticia et singulos nominatim appellabat.' Earlier in the tale (p. 4), near the stream, a 'vir quidam magni splendoris' appears to the travellers, and forthwith calls them by name; he will not reveal his own identity, but tells them that the island has been unchanged from the beginning of the world. It has already been intimated, in the Argument to Canto I, that Dante, — who, unwilling to mar a scene of youthfulness by the introduction of

elderly dwellers, kept Enoch and Elijah out of sight and apparently out of mind, — may have utilized the suggestion of the *Navigatio* in the creation of his Cato, at the foot of the mountain, corresponding to his Matilda, at the top. Another contrasted pair that may possibly have impressed his imagination is furnished by St. Augustine's *De Mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ*, Cap. III, *De Abel et Enoch primatum tenentibus in hominum justitia:* 'Abel totius humanæ justitiæ princeps et secundus post eum Enoch, . . . quibus summa justitiæ in initio ipso mundi et fine committitur.' Matilda, like Abel, represents original goodness; Cato, like Enoch, goodness after evil. But such parallels could be multiplied almost to infinity. Whatever may have been his starting-point, Dante evolved, as guardian of his Eden and personification of its spirit, a lovely girlish form, one of his prettiest conceptions. Such a figure had always haunted his fancy: it lurks in nearly all his lyric verse, whether dedicated to Beatrice, to the Donna Pietosa, to Philosophy, or to the unknown lady of the Casentino. In her solitude, her joyousness, her amorous song, her association with birds and flowers, Matilda belongs to the pastoral type. All her attributes and surroundings indicate that she symbolizes the early, immaculate stage of humanity, the life of harmless activity, the purity and gladness that can and should be regained. It is she, the embodiment of Innocence, who, by the remission of sin through Lethe and Eunoe, restores innocence to Dante. Even so Cato, the personification of Free Will, showed Dante how his free will was to be restored.

Who Matilda was in the flesh — or, in other words, why the custodian of the garden is called 'Matelda' — is a problem that has given rise to endless controversy. Her name is disclosed, and only once (XXXIII, 119), by Beatrice; a little earlier (XXX, 55) Dante's name is proclaimed, for the first and last time in all his poetic works, by the same speaker. Matilda's fresh girlishness would seem to preclude the possibility of identification with a grave ruler like the Countess Matilde of Tuscany; her amorousness, her active rather than contemplative existence should exclude the suggestion of a nun — such, for instance, as that German St. Mechteldis of Hackeborn who, towards the end of the 13th century, had a vision of seven terraces of torment in the vicinity of a beautiful garden. That she stands for some actual person appears most likely, if we consider our author's whole method of symbolism: unlike most mediæval allegory, Dante's always proceeds from the real to the unreal, from the particular to the general. The most plausible conjecture is that which sees

in her an early friend of Beatrice, a Florentine girl whose premature demise is mourned in the *Vita Nuova*, VIII, Sonnets III and IV. Addressing Death, the poet says:

> 'Dal secolo hai partita cortesia
> E ciò che 'n donna è da pregiar virtute.
> In gaia gioventute
> Distrutta hai l' amorosa leggiadria.'

He refuses to tell who she is:

> 'Più non vo' discovrir qual donna sia
> Che per le proprietà sue conosciute.
> Chi non merta salute
> Non speri mai d'aver sua compagnia.'

Now, on the way to salvation, he meets her again as she was in life, the picture of 'gaia gioventute' and 'amorosa leggiadria'; and both his name and hers are revealed by their common friend and guide.

See H. Brandes, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, 1885; C. Schröder, *Sanct Brandan* (text of the *Peregrinatio S. Brandani Abbatis*), 1871; F. Novati, *La 'Navigatio Sancti Brendani' in antico veneziano*, 1892. The *Book of Enoch* (R. Lawrence, 1888) is interesting in connection with the earthly paradise; it is repeatedly cited as authentic by Tertullian (for instance, in the *Liber de Idolatria*, Cap. IV), and is regarded by St. Augustine as inspired and trustworthy, though not canonical (*De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XV, Cap. xxiii, § 4; Lib. XVIII, Cap. xxxviii). With regard to the state of Enoch and Elijah, there are some curious remarks by St. Jerome, *Liber contra Joannem Hierosolymitanem*, § 32. For the configuration of Dante's Garden of Eden, see P. Gambèra, *La topografia del viaggio di Dante nel Paradiso terrestre*, in *Giorn. dant.*, IX, 126. For the legendary descriptions of it: A. Graf, *La leggenda del Paradiso terrestre*, 1878, and *Il mito del Paradiso terrestre* in *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, 1892, I; also E. Coli, *Il paradiso terrestre dantesco*, 1897 (for Ephraim the Syrian, see p. 46). For a discussion of the allegory of Matilda: M. Porena, *Delle manifestazioni plastiche del sentimento nei personaggi della Divina commedia*, 1902, Appendice prima (*Matelda allegorica*). For her identification with Matilda of Hackeborn, and with the Countess of Tuscany: D' Ovidio[2], 488 ff. and 567 ff.; A. Bertoldi, *La Bella Donna del Paradiso Terrestre*, 1901.

Vago già di cercar dentro e dintorno
  La divina foresta spessa e viva,
  Ch' agli occhi temperava il nuovo giorno,
Senza più aspettar lasciai la riva,
  Prendendo la campagna lento lento
  Su per lo suol che d' ogni parte oliva.
Un' aura dolce, senza mutamento

4. *Riva:* the outer edge of the mountain top.
6. *Oliva*, 'was fragrant.'

Avere in sè, mi feria per la fronte
Non di più colpo che soave vento.
Per cui le fronde, tremolando pronte, 10
Tutte quante piegavano alla parte
U' la prim' ombra gitta il santo monte —
Non però dal lor esser dritto sparte
Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime
Lasciasser d' operare ogni lor arte; 15
Ma con piena letizia l' ore prime,
Cantando, ricevieno intra le foglie,
Che tenevan bordone alle sue rime,
Tal qual di ramo in ramo si raccoglie
Per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi, 20
Quand' Eolo Scirocco fuor discioglie.
Già m' avean trasportato i lenti passi
Dentro alla selva antica tanto ch' io
Non potea rivedere ond' io m' entrassi:
Ed ecco più andar mi tolse un rio, 25
Che in ver sinistra con sue picciole onde
Piegava l' erba che in sua riva uscìo.
Tutte l' acque che son di qua più monde
Parrieno avere in sè mistura alcuna

12. *U'* = *ove*. The direction in which the mountain casts its shadow in the morning is, of course, the west.

13. 'But, for all that, not so deflected from their upright state' . . .

15. *Lasciasser*, 'should forbear.'

16. *Ore:* most editors print *ôre*, 'winds'; but if the movement of the air is eternal and unchanging (ll. 7–8, 103–8), there can be no 'first breezes.' The birds greet with song the morning 'hours.'

17. *Ricevieno* = *ricevevano*, 'greeted.'

20. The pine grove of Classe, or Chiassi, — the old port of Ravenna, from which the Adriatic has now receded, — was exposed to the *Scirocco*, or south-east wind. — Cf. *Met.*, XV, 603–4.

21. *Æolus*, king of the winds : *Æn.*, I, 52–7.

26. Dante, who reached the Garden of Eden on its west side, is walking east. As the stream which 'prevents him from going further' flows towards his left, it must, at this point, be running north.

29. *Parrieno* = *parrebbero*.

Verso di quella, che nulla nasconde, — 30
Avvegna che si mova bruna bruna
Sotto l' ombra perpetüa, che mai
Raggiar non lascia sole ivi nè luna.
Coi piè ristetti e con gli occhi passai
Di là dal fiumicello, per mirare 35
La gran varïazion dei freschi mai:
E là m' apparve, — sì com' egli appare
Subitamente cosa che disvia
Per maraviglia tutt' altro pensare, —
Una Donna soletta, che si gia 40
Cantando ed isceglïendo fior da fiore,
Ond' era pinta tutta la sua via.
'Deh, bella Donna, ch' ai raggi d' amore
Ti scaldi (s' io vò' credere ai sembianti
Che soglion esser testimon del core), 45
Vegnati in voglia di trarreti avanti,'
Diss' io a lei, 'verso questa riviera,
Tanto ch' io possa intender che tu canti.
Tu mi fai rimembrar dove e qual era
Proserpina nel tempo che perdette 50
La madre lei, ed ella primavera.'
Come si volge, con le piante strette

30. *Verso di*, 'compared with.'
33. Ps. cxxi (Vulg. cxx), 6: 'The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night.' Cf. *Met.*, V, 388–9.
36. *Mai* (plural of *maio*), 'May-branches,' i. e., spring foliage. In some parts of Italy a branch, called *maio* or *maggio*, is used in the celebration of May Day, serving the purpose either of May-pole or of May-basket.
37. *Egli*, 'there.'
40. *Gia:* imperfect of *gire*.
41. *Isceglïendo:* the older form of *scegliendo*.
45. The 'features' in question are particularly the eyes.
46. *Vegnati in voglia*, 'may it be thy pleasure.'
48. *Intender che*, 'understand what.'
50. When Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, was suddenly carried off to the lower world by Pluto, she had been picking flowers in the 'perpetual springtime' of the valley of Henna: cf. *Met.*, V, 385–408, especially 391.
52. *Piante*, 'feet.' — *Strette*, 'close.'

A terra ed intra sè, donna che balli,
E piede innanzi piede a pena mette,
Volsesi in sui vermigli ed in sui gialli 55
Fioretti verso me, non altrimenti
Che vergine che gli occhi onesti avvalli;
E fece i preghi miei esser contenti,
Sì appressando sè che il dolce suono
Veniva a me co' suoi intendimenti. 60
Tosto che fu là dove l' erbe sono
Bagnate già dall' onde del bel fiume,
Di levar gli occhi suoi mi fece dono.
Non credo che splendesse tanto lume
Sotto le ciglia a Venere trafitta 65
Dal figlio (fuor di tutto suo costume).
Ella ridea dall' altra riva, dritta,
Traendo più color con le sue mani,
Che l' alta terra senza seme gitta.
Tre passi ci facea il fiume lontani; 70
Ma Ellesponto, dove passò Xerse, —
Ancora freno a tutti orgogli umani, —

60. *Intendimenti*, 'meaning.'

66. It was contrary to the custom of Cupid to wound unintentionally, as he did when, coming to kiss his mother, he pricked her with an arrow projecting from his quiver, and caused her to love Adonis: *Met.*, X, 525–32.

68. *Traendo*, 'carrying' or 'trailing.' The 'many colors' are varied flowers.

70. The 'three steps' may signify simply a very short distance which separates Dante from that which he is eager to reach: cf. VIII, 46. If the words have an allegorical meaning, they probably refer to the three stages of the sacrament of penance through which Dante must pass to attain perfect happiness on earth: cf. XXXI, 1–90.

71. Xerxes, king of Persia, crossed the Hellespont with a vast army, to conquer Greece, but was defeated and forced to flee ignominiously. Cf. *Phars.*, II, 672–5:

> 'Tales fama canit tumidum super æquora Xerxen
> Construxisse vias, multum cum pontibus ausus,
> Europamque Asiæ, Sestonque admovit Abydo,
> Incessitque fretum rapidi super Hellesponti.'

Paulus Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos*, II, x, moralizes over his humiliation. Cf. Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, IX, v, Ext. 2.

Più odio da Leandro non sofferse,
  Per mareggiare intra Sesto ed Abido,
  Che quel da me, perchè allor non s' aperse. 75
'Voi siete nuovi, e forse perch' io rido,'
  Cominciò ella, 'in questo loco eletto
  All' umana natura per suo nido,
Maravigliando tienvi alcun sospetto;
  Ma luce rende il salmo *Delectasti*, 80
  Che puote disnebbiar vostro intelletto.
E tu che sei dinanzi, e mi pregasti,
  Di' s' altro vuoi udir, ch' io venni presta
  Ad ogni tua question, tanto che basti.'
'L' acqua,' diss' io, 'e il suon della foresta 85
  Impugna dentro a me novella fede
  Di cosa ch' io udi' contraria a questa.'
Ond' ella: 'Io dicerò come procede
  Per sua cagion ciò ch' ammirar ti face,
  E purgherò la nebbia che ti fiede. 90
Lo sommo Ben, che solo esso a sè piace,
  Fece l' uom buono e a bene, e questo loco
  Diede per arra a lui d' eterna pace.
Per sua diffalta qui dimorò poco;
  Per sua diffalta in pianto ed in affanno 95
  Cambiò onesto riso e dolce gioco.

74. The Hellespont 'swelled' between Leander in Abydos and his beloved Hero in Sestos: Ovid, Epistulæ XVII and XVIII.
75. *Quel:* the *fiume* of l. 70.
80. Ps. xcii (Vulg. xci), 4: 'For thou, Lord, *hast made me glad* through thy work.' The psalm proclaims the downfall of the wicked and the final triumph of the righteous.
82. Dante, who was third in the circles of gluttony and lust (XXII, 127–8; XXVI, 16–7), and second in traversing the fire (XXVII, 46–7), is now first.
87. The statement of Statius in XXI, 43–54, seems to be contradicted by the presence of water and wind at the top of the mountain.
91. As God alone is perfect, he can be altogether satisfied only with himself.
94. *Per sua diffalta*, 'by his own shortcoming,' not because of any imperfection in the place.

Perchè il turbar che sotto da sè fanno
  L' esalazion dell' acqua e della terra,
  Che quanto posson retro al calor vanno,
All' uomo non facesse alcuna guerra, 100
  Questo monte salìo verso 'l ciel tanto;
  E libero n' è d' indi ove si serra.
Or, perchè in circuïto tutto quanto
  L' aër si volge con la prima volta,
  Se non gli è rotto il cerchio d' alcun canto, 105
In questa altezza, che tutta è disciolta
  Nell' aër vivo, tal moto percote,
  E fa sonar la selva, perch' è folta;
E la percossa pianta tanto puote
  Che della sua virtute l' aura impregna, 110
  E quella poi girando intorno scote;
E l' altra terra, secondo ch' è degna
  Per sè e per suo ciel, concepe e figlia
  Di diverse virtù diverse legna.
Non parrebbe di là poi maraviglia, 115
  Udito questo, quando alcuna pianta

97. *Perchè*, 'in order that.' — *Turbar* is the subject of *facesse* in l. 100. — *Che* is the object of *fanno*.

102. 'And it is free from them, from that point on where it is locked,' i. e., above the gate: cf. XXI, 48.

104. The air that envelops the earth is surrounded by a layer of fire, which in turn is enclosed in the heaven of the moon. As there are no intervals of empty space between these spheres, the two mobile elements — air and fire — are swept around the earth by the heavens in their 'primal revolution,' or daily circuit. Dante can hardly have estimated the velocity of such a motion of the atmosphere.

105. 'If its course is not broken in some quarter.' On the rugged surface of the earth the daily revolution of the air encounters so many obstacles that it is not felt; but this mountain-top, rising so high that it is 'quite free in the quick air,' receives the atmospheric current unobstructed.

109. *Tanto puote*, 'has such force.'

111. The air, in its revolution around the earth, scatters far and wide the vital power of the plant.

114. *Di*, 'from.' — This explanation of the diversity of vegetation in each climate has not been found in any other author.

Senza seme palese vi s' appiglia.
E saper dei che la campagna santa
Ove tu sei d' ogni semenza è piena,
E frutto ha in sè che di là non si schianta. 120
L' acqua che vedi non surge di vena
Che ristori vapor che gel converta,
Come fiume ch' acquista e perde lena;
Ma esce di fontana salda e certa,
Che tanto dal voler di Dio riprende 125
Quant' ella versa, da due parti aperta.
Da questa parte con virtù discende
Che toglie altrui memoria del peccato;
Dall' altra, d' ogni ben fatto la rende.
Quinci Letè, così dall' altro lato 130
Eünoè si chiama, e non adopra
Se quinci e quindi pria non è gustato.
A tutt' altri sapori esto è di sopra. —
Ed avvegna ch' assai possa esser sazia
La sete tua perch' io più non ti scopra, 135
Darotti un corollario ancor per grazia;
Nè credo che il mio dir ti sia men caro,
Se oltre promission teco si spazia.
Quelli che anticamente poetaro
L' età dell' oro e suo stato felice, 140

117. *Vi s' appiglia*, 'takes root there.'
120. *Di là non si schianta*, 'is not plucked in your world.' The Garden of Eden contains all the flora of the rest of the world, and some besides.
121. *Vena*, 'spring': cf. Canzone XV, 53. The water of this stream comes from a miraculous fount, not from any natural spring fed by condensed aqueous vapor.
131. *Adopra*, 'works.' To be operative, the water must be tasted in both streams.
138. *Promission*, 'my promise.' — *Si spazia*, 'extends.'
140. The golden age was 'poetized' by Ovid, *Met.*, I, 89–112. The ancient poets were gifted with sight beyond that of their contemporaries (cf. the 'nobile castello' in *Inf.* IV), and had some inkling of the truth. When they sang of Parnassus and the golden age, they may have been dimly conscious of the real origin of man.

Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro.
Qui fu innocente l' umana radice;
Qui primavera è sempre, ed ogni frutto;
Nettare è questo, di che ciascun dice.'
Io mi volsi diretro allora tutto 145
A' miei Poeti, e vidi che con riso
Udito avevan l' ultimo costrutto.
Poi alla bella Donna tornai il viso.

144. 'This (stream) is the nectar of which they all sing.'
147. *Costrutto*, 'passage,' words.

CANTO XXIX

ARGUMENT

At the solemn moment when Dante is to pass through the stages of contrition, confession, and satisfaction to absolution, the Church, with Beatrice, or Revelation, as its guiding power, appears to him in all its majesty. He is following the stream of Lethe up towards its source, when a splendid pageant approaches on the other bank. At a signal from Heaven, it comes to a halt opposite him. Then, after the sacrament of penance and the remission of sin, Dante joins the radiant host. Thus does the Church come to meet the penitent sinner, thus does it reveal itself to him and finally receive him into its bosom. In all this episode the poet makes use of a symbolism more formal and more minute than is his wont. The kind of ceremonial that he describes is remote from modern experience, though not unfamiliar to Dante's contemporaries. In his day elaborate allegorical processions, both religious and secular, were common enough. We find something similar in the *Arbor Vitæ Crucifixæ Jesu*, written in 1305 by Ubertino da Casale, the leader of the Franciscan sect known as the *Spirituales* (*Par.* XII, 124). At a later date the type was developed by Petrarch in his *Trionfi*.

Dante's inspiration came, in large measure, from the Apocalypse and from Ezekiel. His procession is in the shape of a cross, in the middle of which is the Chariot of the Church, drawn by Christ, its founder, in the form of a griffin. Christ, to Dante's mind, was always a divine figure, a part of the triune God, who could be conceived by the human intellect only through the medium of symbols. He seldom thought of him as an historical person or as a model for human life. What particularly impressed him was the mystery of his dual nature, a fusion of man and God; and this duality he expresses by means of the griffin, a creature half eagle, half lion, belonging both to heaven and to earth. He may have got the idea of this beast from St. Isidore's *Etymologiæ*, XII, ii, 17, where it is described; in the same chapter, but not in connection with the griffin, Christ is compared both to a lion and to an eagle (43, 44). The griffin is often pictured in ancient art,

notably in the frieze of the temple of Faustina in Rome. In Christian art, too, it is not uncommon; it is the emblem of the city of Perugia, and is displayed everywhere in that old town; it is seen also on the 11th century façade of the cathedral of Assisi. In Dante's portrayal there are several traits taken from the Song of Solomon, which from very early times was interpreted as an allegory of Christ and the Church. Beside the two wheels of the chariot are two groups of figures symbolizing the Theological and the Cardinal Virtues.

At the head of the procession, at first unrecognizable, then gradually revealing themselves as they approach, are seven golden candlesticks. Seven lamps or candlesticks are repeatedly mentioned in the Bible. Exod. xxv, 37: 'And thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof.' Rev. i, 12: 'I saw seven golden candlesticks.' Rev. i, 13: 'And in the midst of the seven candlesticks one like unto the Son of man' (cf. ii, 1: 'who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks'). Rev. i, 20: 'the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches' (cf. 11). Rev. iv, 5: 'and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God.' This last interpretation is apparently the one that Dante chose: his candlesticks represent the sevenfold Spirit of God. The flame of each candle leaves, as it passes, a trail of colored light, which stretches as far as the eye can reach. These seven streaks of brightness, all of different hues, form a canopy over the marching band. They probably symbolize the gifts of the Spirit of the Lord, mentioned in Isaiah xi, 2, 3: 'And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him' (the 'rod out of the stem of Jesse'), 'the spirit of *wisdom* and *understanding*, the spirit of *counsel* and *might*, the spirit of *knowledge* and of the *fear of the Lord*. And shall make him of quick understanding in the *fear of the Lord*.' The Vulgate, instead of repeating 'fear of the Lord,' has in the first verse *pietatis*, in the second *timoris*, making seven gifts in all. In the *Convivio*, IV, xxi, 105–12, Dante discusses the '*Doni di Spirito Santo*, li quali, secondochè li distingue Isaia Profeta, sono sette, cioè: *Sapienza*, *Intelletto*, *Consiglio*, *Fortezza*, *Scienza*, *Pietà* e *Timor di Dio*.'

After the candlesticks, come twenty-four old men. Rev. iv, 4: 'And round about the throne were four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold' (cf. also 10 and 11). St. Jerome, in the *Prologus Galeatus* to the Vulgate, refers to an interpretation of these elders as the books of the Old Testament, namely: the five books of Law, written by

Moses (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy); eight books of Prophets, i. e., seven major prophets and one book made up of the twelve minor prophets; nine books of sacred writings, historical and didactic; Ruth and Lamentations, which Jerome himself was inclined to regard as not canonical. Dante's elders are clad in white and crowned with lilies, white being the color of faith: the Old Testament is the expression of faith in the coming Saviour.

Next, surrounding the chariot and the griffin, are four animals representing the Gospels; they are crowned with green, the color of hope. Each has six wings, to carry it abroad through the world; and the wings seem full of eyes, for nothing can escape its flight. Ezekiel i, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12: 'And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the color of amber, out of the midst of the fire. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings. . . . And their wings were stretched upward. . . . And they went every one straight forward; whither the spirit was to go, they went.' Rev. iv, 6, 7, 8: 'and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within: and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.' These four beasts were early adopted by Christian art as emblems of the four Evangelists. Ezekiel x, with its account of cherubims and wheels, may be compared also. At the end of the troop, dressed in white and garlanded with red, are seven personages, who stand for the remaining books of the New Testament.

Cantando come donna innamorata,
Continüò col fin di sue parole:
'*Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata!*'
E come ninfe che si givan sole

2. Matilda continued her song 'at the end' of her speech.
3. Ps. xxxii (Vulg. xxxi), 1: '*Blessed is he* whose transgression is forgiven, *whose sin is covered*.' The earthly paradise represents the stage of the soul's journey at which sin is remitted.

Per le salvatiche ombre, disïando 5
Qual di veder, qual di fuggir lo sole,
Allor si mosse contra il fiume, andando
Su per la riva, ed io pari di lei,
Picciol passo con picciol seguitando.
Non eran cento tra i suo' passi e i miei, 10
Quando le ripe igualmente dier volta,
Per modo ch' a levante mi rendei.
Nè ancor fu così nostra via molta,
Quando la Donna tutta a me si torse,
Dicendo: 'Frate mio, guarda ed ascolta!' 15
Ed ecco un lustro subito trascorse
Da tutte parti per la gran foresta,
Tal che di balenar mi mise in forse.
Ma perchè il balenar, come vien, resta,
E quel durando più e più splendeva, 20
Nel mio pensar dicea: 'Che cosa è questa?'
Ed una melodia dolce correva
Per l' aere luminoso; onde buon zelo
Mi fe' riprender l' ardimento d' Eva,
Che, là dove ubbidia la terra e il cielo, 25
Femmina sola, e pur testè formata,
Non sofferse di star sotto alcun velo;
Sotto il qual, se devota fosse stata,
Avrei quelle ineffabili delizie

8. Matilda on one side of the river and the three travellers on the other turn to Dante's right and proceed up-stream, i. e., to the south.
12. At this point the river turns a right angle, and Dante and his companions, still walking up-stream, face the east, as they did before they came to the water.
16. *Lustro*, 'gleam': cf. *Par.* XIV, 68.
18. *Mi mise in forse*, 'it was suggestive to me.'
19. *Come vien, resta*, 'stops as quickly as it comes.'
20. *Quel:* sc., *lustro*.
27. 'She could not endure remaining under any veil' of ignorance. Cf. Gen. iii, 4–6.

Sentite prima, e più lunga fiata. 30
Mentr' io m' andava tra tante primizie
Dell' eterno piacer, tutto sospeso,
E disïoso ancora a più letizie,
Dinanzi a noi, tal quale un foco acceso
Ci si fe' l' aere, sotto i verdi rami, 35
E il dolce suon per canto era già inteso.
O sacrosante Vergini, se fami,
Freddi, o vigilie mai per voi soffersi,
Cagion mi sprona ch' io mercè ne chiami.
Or convien ch' Elicona per me versi, 40
Ed Uranía m' aiuti col suo coro,
Forti cose a pensar mettere in versi.
Poco più oltre sette arbori d' oro
Falsava nel parere il lungo tratto
Del mezzo, ch' era ancor tra noi e loro; 45
Ma quando fui sì presso di lor fatto
Che l' obbietto comun, che il senso inganna,
Non perdea per distanza alcun suo atto,

30. If Eve had not yielded, all mankind would have been born in the Garden of Eden and would have lived there until the Day of Judgment. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ*, Cap. III.

37. Dante appeals once more to the muses, as in I, 8.

38. Cf. 2 Cor. xi, 27.

39. 'My need goads me to ask you for my reward.'

40. Cf. *Æn.*, VII, 641: 'Pandite nunc Helicona, Deæ, cantusque movete.' Helicon was a mountain near Parnassus, sacred to the muses. — *Versi*, 'pour forth' the water of its springs.

41. Urania, muse of astronomy, genius of the 8th or starry heaven, is regarded as the leader of the 'choir.'

42. *Forti cose a pensar*, 'things hard to conceive.'

44. 'The long stretch' of intervening space 'produced a false impression' of seven golden trees.

47. By the *obbietto comun* Dante seems to mean the *sensibile comune*, the sum of attributes perceptible to more than one sense, the 'variously recognizable character' of a thing. Such attributes are shape, size, number, and motion or stillness; whereas color and light are perceived by the eye alone: *Conv.*, III, ix, 55–66. In *Conv.*, IV, viii, 46–50, we learn that we are often deceived by our senses, especially with regard to 'variously recognizable characters,' or *sensibili comuni*.

48. *Atto*, 'attribute.'

La virtù ch' a ragion discorso ammanna
Sì com' elli eran candelabri apprese, 50
E nelle voci del cantare, '*Osanna!*'
Di sopra fiammeggiava il bello arnese
Più chiaro assai che luna per sereno
Di mezza notte nel suo mezzo mese.
Io mi rivolsi d' ammirazion pieno 55
Al buon Virgilio, ed esso mi rispose
Con vista carca di stupor non meno.
Indi rendei l' aspetto all' alte cose,
Che si moveano incontro a noi sì tardi
Che foran vinte da novelle spose. 60
La Donna mi sgridò: 'Perchè pur ardi
Sì nell' aspetto delle vive luci,
E ciò che vien diretro a lor non guardi?'
Genti vid' io allor, com' a lor duci,
Venire appresso, vestite di bianco; 65
E tal candor di qua giammai non fuci.
L' acqua splendeva dal sinistro fianco,
E rendea a me la mia sinistra costa,
S' io riguardava in lei, come specchio anco.
Quand' io dalla mia riva ebbi tal posta 70

49. 'The faculty that supplies procedure for the reason': the power of estimation, or discernment.
50. *Sì come*, 'that.' — *Apprese*, 'apprehended,' understood.
52. *Arnese*, 'array.'
58. *Rendei l' aspetto*, 'I turned back my eyes.'
60. *Foran vinte*, 'they would have been outstripped' by a bride in a wedding procession.
64. *Com' a lor duci* is to be connected with *appresso* in l. 65.
66. *Fuci = ci fu*: for the rhyme see *Inf.* VIII, 17. — Cf. Mark ix, 3: 'And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them.'
67. Dante, walking up-stream on the left bank, has the water on his left. The procession is coming down-stream on the opposite side.
68. *Rendea*, 'reflected' — 'even as a mirror' (l. 69). Though released from sin, Dante is not yet free from remorse; in the light of the 'seven Spirits of God' he sees his own worst part, his 'left side.'

Che solo il fiume mi facea distante,
Per veder meglio ai passi diedi sosta,
E vidi le fiammelle andar davante,
Lasciando retro a sè l' aër dipinto,
E di tratti pennelli avean sembiante; 75
Sì che lì sopra rimanea distinto
Di sette liste, tutte in quei colori
Onde fa l' arco il sole, e Delia il cinto.
Questi ostendali dietro eran maggiori
Che la mia vista; e, quanto al mio avviso, 80
Dieci passi distavan quei di fuori.
Sotto così bel ciel com' io diviso,
Ventiquattro seniori, a due a due,
Coronati venian di fiordaliso.
Tutti cantavan: 'Benedetta tue 85
Nelle figlie d' Adamo, e benedette
Sieno in eterno le bellezze tue.'
Poscia che i fiori e l' altre fresche erbette,
A rimpetto di me dall' altra sponda,
Libere fur da quelle genti elette, 90
Sì come luce luce in ciel seconda,
Vennero appresso lor quattro animali,
Coronato ciascun di verde fronda.

73. *Andar davante*, 'marching on.'
75. 'And they looked like moving paint-brushes,' i. e., 'brushes drawn' across a wall or ceiling, leaving lines of color behind.
78. *Delia* = *Diana*, born in Delos, goddess of the moon.
79. *Ostendali*, 'banners': the streaks of colored light. — *Eran maggiori*, 'extended further.'
81. *Quei di fuori*, 'the (two) outer ones,' representing *wisdom* and *fear of the Lord*. All seven gifts are contained within the ten commandments, by which God transmitted them to man.
82. *Diviso*, 'describe.'
85. *Tue* = *tu*: cf. XVI, 26. — The books of the Old Testament anticipate the greeting to Mary uttered by Gabriel and by Elizabeth (Luke i, 28, 42) at the time of the annunciation.
91. *Luce*: star. — *Seconda*, 'follows': cf. XVI, 33.

Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali,
Le penne piene d' occhi; e gli occhi d' Argo, 95
Se fosser vivi, sarebber cotali.
A descriver lor forme più non spargo
Rime, lettor; ch' altra spesa mi strigne
Tanto che a questa non posso esser largo.
Ma leggi Ezechïel, che li dipigne 100
Come li vide dalla fredda parte
Venir con vento, con nube e con igne;
E quali i troverai nelle sue carte
Tali eran quivi, salvo ch' alle penne
Giovanni è meco, e da lui si diparte. 105
Lo spazio dentro a lor quattro contenne
Un carro, in su due rote, trïonfale,
Ch' al collo d' un grifon tirato venne.
Esso tendea in su l' una e l' altr' ale
Tra la mezzana e le tre e tre liste, 110
Sì ch' a nulla fendendo facea male;
Tanto salivan che non eran viste.
Le membra d' oro avea, quanto era uccello,

95. The hundred-eyed Argus was the guardian of Io: cf. *Met.*, I, 625–9.
100. Ezekiel i, 4–6, 11, 12.
102. *Igne*, 'fire.'
103. *I* = *li*.
105. In the Revelation of St. John the Divine iv, 6–8, the animals have six wings, while in Ezekiel they have only four.
107. *Carro* is the object of *contenne*. — The two wheels are probably the Franciscan and Dominican orders: cf. *Par.* XI, 35–6, and XII, 106–10.
108. Song of Solomon i, 3: 'Draw me, we will run after thee.' Cf. *Mon.*, III, iii, 78–9: 'dicit Ecclesia, loquens ad Sponsum: Trahe me post te.' Here the passage in the song is distinctly applied to the Church and Christ.
109. The wings extending up out of sight indicate the divine origin of Christ, his miraculous descent from Heaven without really leaving it.
110. The wings extend upward on either side of the middle strip of the colored canopy, the strip representing *might*. On the right of the right wing are *wisdom*, *understanding*, and *counsel;* on the left of the left wing, *knowledge*, *piety*, and *fear of the Lord*.
111. The supernatural advent and return of Christ were entirely in accord with the prophecy of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.
113. The eagle-like, or divine, part is of gold, the symbol of purity. Cf. Song of Solomon v, 11: 'His head is as the most fine gold.'

E bianche l' altre, di vermiglio miste.
Non che Roma di carro così bello 115
Rallegrasse Affricano, o vero Augusto,
Ma quel del Sol saria pover con ello —
Quel del Sol, che, svïando, fu combusto
Per l' orazion della Terra devota,
Quando fu Giove arcanamente giusto. 120
Tre donne in giro, dalla destra rota,
Venian danzando: l' una tanto rossa
Ch' a pena fora dentro al foco nota;
L' altr' era come se le carni e l' ossa
Fossero state di smeraldo fatte; 125
La terza parea neve testè mossa.
Ed or parevan dalla bianca tratte,
Or dalla rossa, e dal canto di questa
L' altre togliean l' andare, e tarde e ratte.
Dalla sinistra quattro facean festa, 130
In porpora vestite, dietro al modo

114. The lion-like, or earthly, part is white and red, like human flesh. These are the colors of faith and love. Cf. Song of Solomon v, 10: 'My beloved is white and ruddy.'

115, 116. 'Not only did Africanus (Publius Cornelius Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal) and Augustus never gladden Rome with a chariot so beautiful (on returning in triumph).'

117. *Con*, 'compared with.'

118. *Combusto:* cf. *Inf.* I, 75. At the prayer of the scorched earth, Phaethon, the unsuccessful driver of the chariot of the sun, was stricken down by Jove, who thus punished the crime which, for unknown reasons, he had allowed: *Met.*, II, 227–332. Cf. *Inf.* XVII, 107.

122. Red is the color of Love, or Charity, the greatest of the three Christian virtues. Cf. VIII, 88–93.

124. 'The next' is Hope, whose color is green.

126. *Mossa*, 'fallen.' White symbolizes Faith.

127. *Tratte*, 'led.' Hope must arise either from Faith or from Love: cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Secunda Secundæ, Qu. xvii, Art. 7 and 8. Love, the foundation of all goodness (1 Cor. xiii, 2), sets the pace by her song for the other two virtues.

130. The four beside the left wheel are the cardinal virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude. Cf. I, 22–7.

131. They are clad in 'purple' (which in the Middle Ages was a color nearly identical with red) to indicate that they depend for their existence on Love: see

D' una di lor, ch' avea tre occhi in testa.
Appresso tutto il pertrattato nodo,
Vidi due vecchi in abito dispari,
Ma pari in atto ed onesto e sodo. 135
L' un si mostrava alcun de' famigliari
Di quel sommo Ippocrate che natura
Agli animali fe' ch' ell' ha più cari.
Mostrava l' altro la contraria cura
Con una spada lucida ed acuta, 140
Tal che di qua dal rio mi fe' paura.
Poi vidi quattro in umile paruta,
E diretro da tutti un veglio solo
Venir dormendo, con la faccia arguta.
E questi sette col primaio stuolo 145
Erano abitüati, ma di gigli
Dintorno al capo non facevan brolo,
Anzi di rose e d' altri fior vermigli;

St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxv, Art. 2. Cf. Moore, III, 184–6.

132. Their leader is Prudence, who sees past, present, and future. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xvii, 81–4; IV, xxvii, 42–6. Also St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima Secundæ, Qu. lxv, Art. 1; Tertia, Qu. xi, Art. 1.

133. *Il pertrattato nodo*, 'the group described.'

138. Nature created Hippocrates, the famous Greek doctor and father of medical science, for the benefit of mankind. His follower represents the book of the Acts of the Apostles, written by 'Luke, the beloved physician' (Colossians iv, 14).

140. 'The other,' who seemed more disposed to cut than to cure, represents the Epistles of Paul. St. Paul is generally pictured with a sword, perhaps 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God' of Ephesians vi, 17; cf. Hebrews iv, 12.

142. The 'four of humble mien' are the minor Epistles, those of Peter, James, John, and Jude.

144. The 'old man' stands for the Revelation of St. John the Divine, the last book of the New Testament. In art John is often depicted asleep. It was commonly believed that he was sleeping in Ephesus, not to wake until the Judgment Day: see A. Bassermann in the *Zeitschrift zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 2.

145. They were dressed 'like the first band,' the 24 elders.

147. *Brolo*, 'garland.' Instead of white wreaths, they had red, symbolic of love.

Giurato avria poco lontano aspetto,
Che tutti ardesser di sopra dai cigli. 150
E quando il carro a me fu a rimpetto,
Un tuon s' udì; e quelle genti degne
Parvero aver l' andar più interdetto,
Fermandos' ivi con le prime insegne.

149. *Aspetto*, 'eye' (i. e., spectator), is the subject of *avria*.
154. 'The first ensigns' are the candlesticks with their streamers.

CANTO XXX

ARGUMENT

At the culmination of a climax subtly contrived at every step to whet increasingly the reader's curiosity and to intensify his impression of majesty and loveliness, Beatrice emerges into view from the midst of a rain of flowers. And before he sees her features, Dante recognizes her by the love that fills him. Inasmuch as the Christian Church is founded on Revelation, from which it derives its authority, Beatrice now appears as its dominating spirit and mouthpiece, and takes back to herself its power and its functions. She it is who leads the penitent through contrition, confession, and satisfaction to the final remission of sin, administered under her direction. Contrition, the first stage of the sacrament of penance, must spring from a full recognition of guilt. Just as Lady Philosophy greets with stern rebuke the captive Boethius, in *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, I, Pr. ii, so the divine Beatrice bitterly chides Dante for his recreancy after the death of her mortal part. Without entering upon specific charges, she accuses him of having forsaken the true way and 'given himself to others,' following 'false images of good.' Worldliness, ambition, unworthy companionship or unworthy love — among these is perhaps to be found the fault so discreetly recalled. Canto XXXI will perhaps afford a clue. The first word the accuser speaks (l. 56) is Dante's name, which occurs nowhere else in the poem. 'Di necessità qui si registra,' the author explains (l. 63): without this humiliating record of his identity, his confession — which is not merely an incident in the fiction, but also a real admission, before the world, of real sin — would have been incomplete.

Quando il settentrion del primo cielo, —
Che nè occaso mai seppe nè orto,
Nè d' altra nebbia che di colpa velo,

1. The Septentrion is the constellation of Ursa Minor, the Little Dipper, which contains the North Star, the sailors' guide. The seven candlesticks, representing the sevenfold Spirit of the Lord, are called the Septentrion, or sevenfold guiding light, of the 'first heaven,' or Empyrean. — *Settentrion* is the subject of *si affisse* in l. 7.

3. Nothing but man's sinfulness has ever hidden from him the light of the Spirit of the Lord.

E che faceva lì ciascuno accorto
Di suo dover, come il più basso face 5
Qual timon gira per venire a porto, —
Fermo si affisse, la gente verace,
Venuta prima tra il grifone ed esso,
Al carro volse sè, come a sua pace.
Ed un di loro, quasi da ciel messo, 10
'*Veni, sponsa, de Libano!*' cantando,
Gridò tre volte, e tutti gli altri appresso.
Quali i beati al novissimo bando
Surgeran presti ognun di sua caverna,
La rivestita voce alleluiando, 15
Cotali, in sulla divina basterna,
Si levar cento (*ad vocem tanti senis*)
Ministri e messaggier di vita eterna.
Tutti dicean: '*Benedictus qui venis!*'
E, fior gittando di sopra e dintorno, 20
'*Manibus o date lilïa plenis!*'

4. *Lì:* in the procession of the Church.
5. *Il più basso* (sc., *settentrion*): the real Ursa Minor, in the starry sphere, below the Empyrean.
6. *Qual*, 'him who': the helmsman.
7. The 'truthful people' are the elders representing the prophetic Old Testament.
10. The one who stands for the Song of Solomon.
11. Song of Solomon iv, 8: 'Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse.' The 'spouse' is the Church. In the Vulgate the word *veni*, 'come,' occurs three times.
13. *Novissimo bando*, 'last trump.'
15. An absolute construction. — Rev. xix, 1: 'And after those things I heard a great voice of much people in Heaven, saying, Alleluia.'
16. *Basterna*, 'carriage.'
17. A hundred angels suddenly arose 'at the voice of so great an elder.' The Latin, appropriate enough to the ecclesiastical tone of the whole passage, is evidently needed here to prepare for the coming rhymes.
19. Mat. xxi, 9: 'And the multitudes that went before, and that followed' (Christ as he entered Jerusalem), 'cried, saying, Hosanna to the son of David: *Blessed is he that cometh* in the name of the Lord.' The last clause is taken from Ps. cxviii (Vulg. cxvii), 26. Dante changes *venit*, 'cometh,' to *venis*, 'comest.' — The elder has sung the invitation of Christ to the Church; the angels in the chariot of the Church now respond with the greeting to Christ.
21. *Æn.*, vi, 883: 'Oh, give lilies with full hands!' On the point of dismissing

Io vidi già nel cominciar del giorno
  La parte orïental tutta rosata,
  E l' altro ciel di bel sereno adorno,
E la faccia del sol nascere ombrata, 25
  Sì che per temperanza di vapori
  L' occhio la sostenea lunga fïata;
Così dentro una nuvola di fiori,
  Che dalle mani angeliche saliva,
  E ricadea in giù dentro e di fuori, 30
Sopra candido vel cinta d' oliva
  Donna m' apparve, sotto verde manto
  Vestita di color di fiamma viva.
E lo spirito mio, che già cotanto
  Tempo era stato che alla sua presenza 35
  Non era di stupor tremando affranto,
Senza degli occhi aver più conoscenza,
  Per occulta virtù che da lei mosse,
  D' antico amor sentì la gran potenza.
Tosto che nella vista mi percosse 40
  L' alta virtù, che già m' avea trafitto
  Prima ch' io fuor di püerizia fosse,
Volsimi alla sinistra col rispitto

Virgil from his narrative, Dante pays him the supreme honor of putting a phrase from his *Æneid* into the mouth of angels, together with words from the Bible.

22. *Io vidi già*, 'I have sometimes seen.'

26. *Temperanza*, 'tempering.'

31. 'Garlanded with olive over a white veil.' Olive is the emblem of peace. In these three lines are the colors of the three Christian virtues; but green, the symbol of hope, really occurs twice. In XXXI, 116, Beatrice's eyes, too, are green; and in *Par.* XXXI, 79, she is addressed as 'donna in cui mia *speranza vige*.'

35, 36. 'Had been so long without being stricken with awe, trembling, in her presence.' Cf. *V. N.*, II, 19–25; XI, 17–25; XIV, 24–34; XXIV, 1–5. As Beatrice had died in 1290 (*V. N.*, XXX, 7–13), Dante had not seen her, except in dreams, for ten years: cf. *Purg.* XXXII, 2.

42. When Dante first saw Beatrice, he was but nine years old: *V. N.*, II, 1–6.

43. *Rispitto*, 'expectation,' is a noun taken from the old verb *ri-* or *re-spittare*, 'expect,' which occurs in the *Fiore*. The word is used also by G. Villani.

Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma,
Quando ha paura o quando egli è afflitto, 45
Per dicere a Virgilio: 'Men che dramma
Di sangue m' è rimaso che non tremi;
Conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma.'
Ma Virgilio n' avea lasciati scemi
Di sè — Virgilio, dolcissimo padre — 50
Virgilio, a cui per mia salute die' mi!
Nè quantunque perdè l' antica madre
Valse alle guance nette di rugiada,
Che lagrimando non tornassero adre.
'Dante, perchè Virgilio se ne vada, 55
Non pianger anco, non pianger ancora;
Chè pianger ti convien per altra spada!'
Quasi ammiraglio, che in poppa ed in prora
Viene a veder la gente che ministra
Per gli altri legni, ed a ben far la incuora, 60
In su la sponda del carro sinistra,
Quando mi volsi al suon del nome mio,
Che di necessità qui si registra,
Vidi la Donna, che pria m' appario
Velata sotto l' angelica festa, 65
Drizzar gli occhi ver me di qua dal rio,

48. Cf. *Æn.*, IV, 23: 'Agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ.'
49. *Scemi,* 'bereft.' This parting, so intensely pathetic in the literal narrative, corresponds spiritually to the shock experienced by the soul passing from the guidance of Reason to that of divine Authority.
52. Not all Eden . . .
53. 'Could prevent my dew-cleansed cheeks': cf. I, 121–9.
54. 'From being darkened once more by weeping.' — *Adre* = *atre.*
55. *Perchè,* 'though.'
56. *Anco,* 'yet.'
57. Hebrews iv, 12: 'For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, . . . and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.'
59. *Ministra,* 'serves.' Cf. *Æn.*, VI, 302: 'Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisque ministrat.'

Tutto che il vel che le scendea di testa,
  Cerchiato dalla fronde di Minerva,
  Non la lasciasse parer manifesta.
Regalmente, nell' atto ancor proterva, 70
  Continüò, come colui che dice
  E il più caldo parlar diretro serva:
'Guardaci ben! Ben sem, ben sem Beatrice!
  Come degnasti d' accedere al monte?
  Non sapei tu che qui è l' uom felice?' 75
Gli occhi mi cadder giù nel chiaro fonte;
  Ma veggendomi in esso, i trassi all' erba,
  Tanta vergogna mi gravò la fronte.
Così la madre al figlio par superba
  Com' ella parve a me, perchè d' amaro 80
  Sente il sapor della pietate acerba.
Ella si tacque, e gli Angeli cantaro
  Di subito: '*In te, Domine, speravi;*'
  Ma oltre '*pedes meos*' non passaro.
Sì come neve tra le vive travi 85

67. *Tutto che*, 'although.'
68. *Cerchiato*, 'wreathed.' — The olive was sacred to Minerva. The phrase perhaps suggests that peace comes through knowledge; cf. the 'warfare of ignorance' in XX, 145.
70. *Proterva*, 'wrathful.' Her anger shows itself in the impetuousness of the following speech.
72. *Il più caldo:* his hottest rebukes. — *Diretro serva*, 'reserves for the end.' Cf. *Conv.*, II, ix, 9–13.
73. Beatrice speaks in the first person plural, like a monarch.
74. *Degnasti*, 'hast thou deigned.' From the imperiousness of the first line, she passes abruptly to the irony of the second, and thence, with equal suddenness, to the direct rebuke of the third. — Cf. Ps. xxiv (Vulg. xxiii), 3, 4.
75. *Sapei = sapevi.*
77. *I = li.* — Contrition is caused by seeing our real selves.
81. *Acerba*, 'unripe': pity that is not yet ready to reveal itself.
83. Ps. xxxi (Vulg. xxx): 'In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust.' It expresses trust and gratitude, and prays for continued defence and deliverance.
84. Verse 8 (Vulg. 9) ends with: 'thou hast set *my feet* in a large room' (Vulg.: 'statuisti in loco spatioso *pedes meos*'). After this verse the tone of the psalm is rather mournful than jubilant.
85. The 'living rafters' are trees.

Per lo dosso d' Italia si congela,
Soffiata e stretta dalli venti schiavi,
Poi liquefatta in sè stessa trapela, —
Pur che la terra che perde ombra spiri, —
Sì che par foco fonder la candela: 90
Così fui senza lagrime e sospiri
Anzi il cantar di quei che notan sempre
Dietro alle note degli eterni giri;
Ma poi che intesi nelle dolci tempre
Lor compàtire a me, — più che se detto 95
Avesser: 'Donna, perchè sì lo stempre?' —
Lo gel che m' era intorno al cor ristretto
Spirito ed acqua fessi, e con angoscia
Per la bocca e per gli occhi uscì del petto.
Ella, pur ferma in su la detta coscia 100
Del carro stando, alle sustanzie pie
Volse le sue parole così poscia:
'Voi vigilate nell' eterno dìe,
Sì che notte nè sonno a voi non fura
Passo che faccia il secol per sue vie; 105
Onde la mia risposta è con più cura
Che m' intenda colui che di là piagne,

86. The 'back of Italy' is the Apennine range.
87. *Stretta*, 'packed.' — *Schiavi*, 'Slavic.'
89. *Pur che*, 'if but.' — 'The land that loses shadow' is the African desert, where the sun is sometimes directly overhead.
90. Cf. Ps. lxviii, 2 (Vulg. lxvii, 3): 'as wax melteth before the fire.'
92. *Notan*, 'sing.'
93. In harmony with the music of the spheres. Cf. *Par.* I, 78, 82.
94. *Tempre*, 'airs.'
96. *Stempre*, 'confoundest.'
98. *Fessi* = *si fece.* — It is the pity of the angels that finally awakens complete contrition of the heart, the first stage of the sacrament of penance.
100. *Detta coscia*, 'aforesaid (l. 61) flank' of the chariot.
101. The 'kindly substances' are the angels.
103. *Dìe* = *dì*, 'day.'
104. *A voi . . . fura*, 'steals from you' a single step of the world's course.
106. *È con più cura*, 'is more concerned.'

Perchè sia colpa e duol d' una misura.
Non pur per opra delle rote magne,
Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine, 110
Secondo che le stelle son compagne,
Ma per larghezza di grazie divine
Che sì alti vapori hanno a lor piova
Che nostre viste là non van vicine,
Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova, 115
Virtüalmente, ch' ogni abito destro
Fatto averebbe in lui mirabil prova.
Ma tanto più maligno e più silvestro
Si fa il terren col mal seme e non colto,
Quant' egli ha più del buon vigor terrestro. 120
Alcun tempo il sostenni col mio volto;
Mostrando gli occhi giovinetti a lui,
Meco il menava in dritta parte volto.
Sì tosto come in su la soglia fui
Di mia seconda etade, e mutai vita, 125
Questi si tolse a me e diessi altrui.
Quando di carne a spirto era salita,
E bellezza e virtù cresciuta m' era,
Fu' io a lui men cara e men gradita;

109. The 'great wheels' are the revolving heavens, which determine, by the arrangement of the stars at his birth, the disposition of every human being.

112. God bestows upon every individual a special degree of grace, upon which his keenness of spiritual vision depends. The reasons that govern God's uneven distribution of grace neither men nor angels can fathom. His graces rain down from so high — 'have such high vapors for their rain' (l. 113) — that no eye can approach their source. See St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiæ*, Prima, Qu. lvii, Art. 5. Cf. *Conv.*, IV, xxi, 100–5.

115. *Questi:* Dante. — *Nuova,* 'young.'

116. *Virtualmente,* 'potentially.' — *Abito destro,* 'right disposition.'

125. The 'second age,' *gioventù*, begins at 25: see *Conv.*, IV, xxiv, 3–5, 11–3. — Dante was born (probably) in May, 1265. Beatrice, who was nearly a year younger (*V. N.*, II, 9–15), was doubtless born in the first third of 1266. She died in June, 1290: *V. N.*, XXX, 1–13. — *Mutai:* 'changed' the temporal for the eternal.

126. *Diessi* = *si diede.*

E volse i passi suoi per via non vera, 130
Imagini di ben seguendo false,
Che nulla promission rendono intera.
Nè impetrare spirazion mi valse,
Con le quali ed in sogno ed altrimenti
Lo rivocai; sì poco a lui ne calse. 135
Tanto giù cadde che tutti argomenti
Alla salute sua eran già corti,
Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti.
Per questo visitai l' uscio dei morti,
Ed a colui che l' ha quassù condotto 140
Li preghi miei piangendo furon porti.
Alto fato di Dio sarebbe rotto,
Se Letè si passasse e tal vivanda
Fosse gustata senza alcuno scotto
Di pentimento che lagrime spanda.' 145

131. Boethius uses the phrase 'imagines veri boni' in *Cons.*, III, Pr. ix. Cf. *Purg.* XVI, 91.
132. *Promission*, 'promise': cf. XXVIII, 138. — Cf. *Cons.*, III, Pr. viii: 'hæ quæ nec præstare quæ pollicentur bona possunt.'
133. 'And it availed me not to obtain (from God) inspirations.' See *V. N.*, XL, 1–26; XLII, Sonnet XXV; XLIII, 1–6.
136. *Argomenti*, 'means.'
142. *Fato*, 'decree.'
143. The 'viand' is the living water of Lethe.
144. *Scotto*, 'payment.' It would be contrary to God's justice to allow forgetfulness of sin without previous contrition.

CANTO XXXI

ARGUMENT

Contritio cordis is followed by *confessio oris* and *satisfactio operis*, after which comes remission of sin. This whole solemn and elaborate episode — far more elaborate than the allegory itself would seem to require — strikes one as having been devised by the author partly for the purpose of making real amends for past wrong, and setting himself right before the world. What may have been the nature of the guilt thus expiated, as it were, by avowal? Was it a mundane love or an undue literary or scientific ambition? Our evidence is slight.

On the completion of Dante's confession Beatrice rebukes him once more, 'that he may be stronger another time when he hears the sirens' (ll. 44–5). It will be remembered that in Dante's second dream a siren (XIX, 19) represented the sins of the flesh. On the other hand, in *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, I, Pr. i, in a situation somewhat analogous to the one under discussion, Philosophy, finding the exiled and imprisoned author in the company of the muses of poetry, drives them away, saying: 'Sed abite potius, *Sirenes* usque in exilium dulces, meisque eum Musis curandum relinquite' — the sirens of poetry must yield the place to the muses of philosophy. Beatrice's 'sirens,' then, can be used on either side of the argument.

A few lines further on (58–60), after recalling the keen sorrow and disappointment that came to him from her own departure from this world, Beatrice declares that he should not have allowed any 'little maid, or other so short-lived vanity,' to attach him to earth, to be wounded again. Here the question arises anew: is the *pargoletta* to be taken literally, or does she symbolize some intellectual pursuit (for instance, poetry, as the author's son Pietro thought)? Dante's sixth ballad begins 'Io mi son *pargoletta* bella e nova.' Now this lyric, from its tone and style, seems distinctly to belong to the same group as the tenth ballad and the first two *canzoni* of the *Convivio* (also, probably, Canzone IX and a few miscellaneous shorter poems), all concerned with a maiden who, Dante tells us (*Conv.*, II, ii), is identical with the compassionate lady of the latter part of the *Vita Nuova* (Ch. XXXVI–XL, Son.

XIX–XXII). This young person attracted his notice and then his affection by her apparent pity for him after the death of Beatrice. Of his passion for her — a harmless enough infatuation, as far as one can judge — he was profoundly ashamed (*V. N.*, XXXVIII–XL); his acquaintances, no doubt, and his literary circle were likewise dissatisfied and expressed their disapproval of his celebration of this *pargoletta*. When, therefore, he undertook the *Convivio*, he did so partly to defend himself from such criticism (*Conv.*, I, ii, 114–30) by showing that the poems in question are allegorical, the lady being none other than Philosophy (*Conv.*, II, xiii). For the unprejudiced reader of the *Vita Nuova* it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that the sympathetic young lady there described is a purely allegorical figure. The incident is peculiarly lifelike; and such an allegory is quite foreign to the spirit of that early work. It is certainly true that Dante found comfort in the study of philosophy at about the same time that he was consoled by the sight of this *donna gentile*. It would have been, then, quite in accordance with his practice (with the example of Boethius before him) to make her the symbol of the consolation of Philosophy, and of Philosophy herself; and it would have been equally natural for him, when his moody yearning for her had died away, to try to forget that she had ever been anything more to him than the embodiment of the subject of his absorbing study. To make others accept her as a pure symbol was one of the objects of the *Convivio*. It is noteworthy that this treatise was never finished. Dante's conscience, apparently, was ill at ease; and here, in the *Commedia*, he at last tells the whole truth, admitting that his love for the *pargoletta* was not merely an innocent devotion to that 'figlia d' Iddio, regina di tutto, nobilissima e bellissima Filosofia' (*Conv.*, II, xiii, 71–2), but also, and originally, a sentiment deserving reprobation. Now, as far as we can see, Dante's devotion to Philosophy never ceased, his admiration never waned; throughout the *Commedia*, as in the *Convivio*, she is the handmaid of religion and, though not omniscient, the guide to revelation. That she ever was a dangerous companion for him, or that he ever thought of his pursuit of her as excessive, there is no clear indication. He could scarcely have referred to her, at any time, as a 'short-lived vanity.' If, then, we are to see in the *pargoletta* of the *Commedia* anything more than a woman, it is more likely that she represented, to Dante's repentant mind, a whole mode of life and thought, a practical, imaginative, and artistic materialism inconsistent with the spiritual ideal he always cherished.

An interesting question remains, and we have no means of answering it. What part, if any, in Dante's guilt and confession had the damsel of the Casentino, that mysterious 'Pietra' to whom the poet dedicated his most impassioned lyrics, unsurpassed in beauty by any of those inspired by Beatrice or the *donna gentile?* Even if these poems were composed long after 1300, they must have been present in the author's memory when he wrote this canto. Are we to see a reference to 'Pietra' in the 'altra vanità con sì breve uso'? And, if so, does she stand for some other mood of the poet, some other mundane interest or aspiration?

For different views, see: R. Murari, *Dante e Boezio*, 1905, pp. 266 ff.; P. A. Menzio, *Il traviamento intellettuale di Dante Alighieri*, 1903. For discussions of 'Pietra' and the 'Pargoletta': G. Carducci, *Delle rime di Dante*, in his *Studi letterari*, VIII, pp. 1 ff.; A. Zenatti, *Le rime di Dante per la Pargoletta*, in the *Rivista d' Italia*, Jan. 15, 1899; V. Imbriani, *Sulle canzoni pietrose di Dante*, in his *Studi danteschi*, 1891, pp. 427 ff.; A. Abbruzzese, *Su le "Rime Pietrose" di Dante*, in the *Giorn. dant.*, XI, pp. 97 ff. For a study of the development and purification of love in Dante's heart, as revealed in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Commedia*, see J. B. Fletcher in *The Nation* (New York), Dec. 16, 1909, 595–6.

'O tu, che sei di là dal fiume sacro,'
Volgendo suo parlare a me per punta,
Che pur per taglio m' era paruto acro,
Ricominciò, seguendo senza cunta,
'Di', di', se questo è vero! A tanta accusa 5
Tua confession conviene esser congiunta.'
Era la mia virtù tanto confusa
Che la voce si mosse, e pria si spense
Che dagli organi suoi fosse dischiusa.
Poco sofferse, poi disse: 'Che pense? 10
Rispondi a me; chè le memorie triste
In te non sono ancor dall' acqua offense.'
Confusione e paura insieme miste
Mi pinsero un tal 'sì' fuor della bocca

2. *Per punta*, 'with the point.' Her speech is a sword: cf. XXX, 57.
3. *Per taglio*, 'with the edge,' i. e., addressed to me indirectly, being ostensibly directed to the angels: cf. XXX, 103–8. — *Acro*, 'keen': cf. IX, 136.
4. *Cunta*, 'delay.'
10. *Sofferse*, 'she waited.' — *Che pense*: cf. *Inf.* V, 111.
12. *Acqua:* of Lethe. — *Offense*, 'impaired.'

Al quale intender fur mestier le viste. 15
Come balestro frange, quando scocca
Da troppa tesa, la sua corda e l' arco,
E con men foga l' asta il segno tocca,
Sì scoppia' io sott' esso grave carco,
Fuori sgorgando lagrime e sospiri, 20
E la voce allentò per lo suo varco.
Ond' ella a me: 'Per entro i miei disiri,
Che ti menavano ad amar lo bene
Di là dal qual non è a che si aspiri,
Quai fossi attraversati o quai catene 25
Trovasti, per che del passare innanzi
Dovessiti così spogliar la spene?
E quali agevolezze o quali avanzi
Nella fronte degli altri si mostraro,
Per che dovessi lor passeggiare anzi?' 30
Dopo la tratta d' un sospiro amaro,
A pena ebbi la voce che rispose,
E le labbra a fatica la formaro.
Piangendo dissi: 'Le presenti cose
Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi, 35
Tosto che il vostro viso si nascose.'
Ed ella: 'Se tacessi, o se negassi

17. *Da troppa tesa,* 'from excessive tension.' — *Corda* and *arco* are objects of *frange* in l. 16.
18. *Foga,* 'force.' — *Asta,* 'shaft.'
21. Cf. *Æn.*, XI, 150–1:

'hæret lacrimansque gemensque
Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est.'

25. Obstacles, such as were used to prevent the passage of a hostile army or fleet. — *Fossi attraversati,* 'cross ditches.'
28. *Agevolezze,* 'comforts.' — *Avanzi,* 'advantages.'
29. *Altri,* sc., *beni:* cf. l. 23.
30. *Lor passeggiare anzi,* 'dally with them.' Cino da Pistoia (ed. Bindi and Fanfani, Sonnet LII), describing spiritual contemplation of his beloved, says: 'Quando davanti passo.'
31. *Tratta,* 'heaving.'

Ciò che confessi, non fora men nota
La colpa tua: da tal giudice sassi!
Ma quando scoppia dalla propria gota 40
L' accusa del peccato, in nostra corte
Rivolge sè contra il taglio la rota.
Tuttavia, perchè mo vergogna porte
Del tuo errore, e perchè altra volta
Udendo le Sirene sie più forte, 45
Pon giù il seme del piangere, ed ascolta;
Sì udirai come in contraria parte
Mover doveati mia carne sepolta.
Mai non t' appresentò natura o arte
Piacer, quanto le belle membra in ch' io 50
Rinchiusa fui, e sono in terra sparte.
E se il sommo piacer sì ti fallio
Per la mia morte, qual cosa mortale
Dovea poi trarre te nel suo disio?
Ben ti dovevi, per lo primo strale 55
Delle cose fallaci, levar suso
Diretro a me che non era più tale.
Non ti dovea gravar le penne in giuso,
Ad aspettar più colpi, o pargoletta
O altra vanità con sì breve uso. 60

39. *Sassi* = *si sa.*
40. The use of *gota,* 'cheek,' instead of 'lips,' was perhaps suggested, not only by the rhyme, but also by the idea of the blush of shame that accompanies the words.
42. 'The grindstone turns back against the edge': the sword of justice is blunted, i. e., tempered with mercy.
43. *Porte* = (*tu*) *porti.*
46. The odd phrase, 'the seed of weeping,' is evidently due to a reminiscence of Ps. cxxvi (Vulg. cxxv), 5: 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.'
50. *Piacer quanto,* 'a delight equal to' . . . Cf. *V. N.*, Sonnets XV, XVI.
51. Cf. Gen. iii, 19: 'unto dust shalt thou return.'
57. *Tale:* i. e., *fallace.*
58. The subjects of *dovea* are *pargoletta,* 'little maid,' and *altra vanità,* in ll. 59, 60.
60. *Uso,* 'duration.' — Cf. Eccles. i, 2: 'Vanity of vanities.'

Nuovo augelletto due o tre aspetta;
Ma dinanzi dagli occhi dei pennuti
Rete si spiega indarno o si saetta.'
Quali i fanciulli vergognando muti,
Con gli occhi a terra, stannosi ascoltando 65
E sè riconoscendo e ripentuti,
Tal mi stava io. Ed ella disse: 'Quando
Per udir sei dolente, alza la barba,
E prenderai più doglia riguardando.'
Con men di resistenza si dibarba 70
Robusto cerro, o vero al nostral vento
O vero a quel della terra di Iarba,
Ch' io non levai al suo comando il mento;
E quando per la barba il viso chiese,
Ben conobbi il velen dell' argomento. 75
E come la mia faccia si distese,
Posarsi quelle prime creature
Da loro aspersïon l' occhio comprese;
E le mie luci, ancor poco sicure,
Vider Beatrice volta in su la fiera 80

61. *Nuovo*, 'young.' — *Due o tre*, sc., *colpi:* cf. l. 59.
62. *Pennuti*, 'full-fledged': experienced.
63. Cf. Pr. i, 17: 'Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird' — 'ante oculos *pennatorum*.'
66. *Sè riconoscendo*, 'conscience-stricken.'
67. *Quando*, 'since.'
68. In the Middle Ages, *barba*, in many regions, meant both 'beard' and 'chin': cf. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXIV, 191. Dante apparently plays on the double sense of the word.
70. *Si dibarba*, 'is uprooted.'
71. *Nostral*, 'native,' coming from our pole.
72. Iarbas was king of Libya: *Æn.*, IV, 196.
75. The 'venom of her speech' consists in the implication that the beard, the plumage of the full-fledged (cf. I, 42), is inconsistent with Dante's youthful vagaries.
76. *Si distese*, 'was upstretched.'
77, 78. 'My eye perceived those primal creatures (the angels) resting from their sprinkling (of flowers).'
80. *Volta in su la fiera*, 'turned toward the animal' (the griffin).

Ch' è sola una persona in due nature.
Sotto suo velo, ed oltre la riviera,
Vincer pareami più sè stessa antica —
Vincer — che l' altre qui, quand' ella c' era.
Di penter sì mi punse ivi l' ortica 85
Che di tutt' altre cose, qual mi torse
Più nel suo amor, più mi si fe' nimica.
Tanta riconoscenza il cor mi morse
Ch' io caddi vinto; e quale allora femmi,
Salsi colei che la cagion mi porse. 90
Poi quando il cor di fuor virtù rendemmi,
La Donna ch' io avea trovata sola
Sopra me vidi, e dicea: 'Tiemmi, tiemmi.'
Tratto m' avea nel fiume infino a gola,
E tirandosi me dietro, sen giva 95
Sopr' esso l' acqua, lieve come spola.
Quando fui presso alla beata riva,
'*Asperges me*' sì dolcemente udissi
Ch' io nol so rimembrar, non ch' io lo scriva.
La bella Donna nelle braccia aprissi, 100
Abbracciommi la testa, e mi sommerse
Ove convenne ch' io l' acqua inghiottissi;

84. *Vincer*, 'surpass,' is insistently repeated. — *Che l' altre*, 'than she surpassed all other women.'

86. *Di*, 'of.' — *Qual mi torse*, 'whatsoever one had drawn me.'

88. *Riconoscenza*, 'remorse.' — This swoon evidently represents *satisfaction*, the last stage of the sacrament of penance.

89. *Femmi* = *mi fei*, i. e., *mi feci*.

90. *Salsi* = *se lo sa*.

91. *Di fuor virtù*, 'my outward faculties,' my senses.

92. *Donna:* Matilda.

93. *Tiemmi* = *tienimi*, 'cling to me.'

98. Ps. li, 7 (Vulg. l, 9.): '*Purge me* with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow' — a verse that accompanies absolution. — *Udissi* = *si udì*.

99. *Non che*, 'far less.'

100. *Nelle braccia aprissi* (= *si aprì*), 'spread her arms open.' The figure in the poet's mind seems to be that of a butterfly unfolding its wings.

Indi mi tolse, e bagnato mi offerse
 Dentro alla danza delle quattro belle,
 E ciascuna del braccio mi coperse. 105
'Noi sem qui ninfe, e nel ciel semo stelle.
 Pria che Beatrice discendesse al mondo,
 Fummo ordinate a lei per sue ancelle.
Merrenti agli occhi suoi; ma nel giocondo
 Lume ch' è dentro aguzzeranno i tuoi 110
 Le tre di là, che miran più profondo.'
Così cantando cominciaro; e poi
 Al petto del grifon seco menarmi,
 Ove Beatrice stava volta a noi.
Disser: 'Fa che le viste non risparmi! 115
 Posto t' avem dinanzi agli smeraldi
 Ond' Amor già ti trasse le sue armi.'
Mille disiri più che fiamma caldi
 Strinsermi gli occhi agli occhi rilucenti,
 Che pur sopra il grifone stavan saldi. 120
Come in lo specchio il sol, non altrimenti
 La doppia fiera dentro vi raggiava,
 Or con uni, or con altri reggimenti.
Pensa, lettor, s' io mi maravigliava,
 Quando vedea la cosa in sè star queta, 125

106. *Sem* = *siamo*. — *Stelle:* cf. I, 23; VIII, 91. — The cardinal virtues, which are within the reach of pagans (VII, 34–6), are both human and divine. They existed before God revealed himself to man.

109. *Merrenti* = *ti meneremo*.

111. *Le tre:* the theological virtues, who are beside the right wheel. The cardinal virtues may lead up to Revelation, but the Christian virtues are needed for its comprehension.

116. The eyes of Beatrice are called emeralds: green is the color of hope. The emerald, too, was thought to preserve and strengthen the sight.

117. *Trasse*, 'shot.' Cf. *V. N.*, Canzone I, 70–3; Sonnet XI, 1.

120. The eyes of Revelation are fixed upon Christ alone.

123. Now with its human, now with its divine 'bearing.' Revealed theology analyzes the nature of Christ into its two component parts, although in reality they are eternally fused into one.

E nell' idolo suo si trasmutava.
Mentre che, piena di stupore e lieta,
L' anima mia gustava di quel cibo
Che saziando dì sè, di sè asseta;
Sè dimostrando di più alto tribo 130
Negli atti, l' altre tre si fero avanti,
Danzando al loro angelico caribo.
'Volgi, Beatrice, volgi gli occhi santi,'
Era la lor canzone, 'al tuo fedele,
Che per vederti ha mossi passi tanti! 135
Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele
A lui la bocca tua, sì che discerna
La seconda bellezza che tu cele!'
O isplendor di viva luce eterna,
Chi pallido si fece sotto l' ombra 140
Sì di Parnaso, o bevve in sua cisterna,
Che non paresse aver la mente ingombra,
Tentando a render te qual tu paresti
Là dove, armonizzando, il ciel t' adombra,
Quando nell' aere aperto ti solvesti? 145

126. *Idolo*, 'image.'
129. Cf. Ecclus. xxiv, 29.
130. *Tribo*, 'order.'
132. *Caribo*, 'measure.' *Caribo* is a kind of dance music.
138. The first beauty is the eyes; the second, the mouth. Cf. *Conv.*, III, xv, 12–23: 'E qui si conviene sapere che gli *occhi* della Sapienza sono le sue *dimostrazioni*, colle quali si vede la Verità certissimamente; e 'l suo *riso* sono le sue *persuasioni*, nelle quali si dimostra la luce interiore della Sapienza sotto alcuno velamento: e in queste due si sente quel piacere altissimo di beatitudine, il qual è massimo bene in Paradiso. Questo piacere in altra cosa di quaggiù esser non può, se non nel guardare in questi *occhi* e in questo *riso*.'
140. *Chi*, 'who ever?'
144. *T'adombra*, 'is thine only veil.' Brunetto Latini, describing Lady Nature (in imitation of Boethius's picture of Lady Philosophy), says, in the *Tesoretto*, III, 29–30:

'Talor toccava il cielo
Sì che parea suo velo.'

145. *Ti solvesti*, 'didst unfold thyself.'

CANTO XXXII

ARGUMENT

When the sinner has chosen the road to reformation, the Church comes to meet him, takes him to itself, directs him in the way he should go, and leads him Heavenward. Such is the spiritual meaning of the procession which comes out of the east, stops opposite Dante, receives him as a companion, and then, turning to the right, wheels about and marches eastward, with the sun and the seven candlesticks in front — with God-given intelligence and the sevenfold Spirit of the Lord as its guides. These movements, however, probably contain also an historical allegory: the Church originated in the Orient, made its way westward to the Atlantic, and then took up its abode in Rome, midway between its eastern and its western frontier. This last event is symbolized by the halt of the band after it has gone back a distance of some three arrow shots, — that is, perhaps, has crossed Spain, France, and Italy. Then Beatrice descends from her chariot beneath the tree of Law: the Church puts itself under the authority of the State. Christ himself is careful not to trespass on the field of temporal power, as is shown by the griffin's forbearing to harm the tree. 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers,' says St. Paul in Romans xiii, 1. 'For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.'

Law naturally takes the form, 'thou shalt not'; and the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the subject of God's first prohibition to man (Gen. ii, 17), is a fit symbol of divine Law. This tree, of vast height, is shaped like those in the circle of gluttony (XXII, 132–5), its offshoots: it tapers downward, the branches being long above and short below, so that no one can climb it — a token of prohibition. According to a legend wide-spread in the Middle Ages, Seth, returning to the Garden of Eden, found there a bare tree of lofty stature, the tree of knowledge, thus denuded since his parents' disobedience (Gen. iii, 6, 17); taking a branch, — or, as another version says, three seeds of the apple eaten by Adam, — he planted another tree, from which, later, the Cross was made. Thus sin and atonement sprang from the same wood. Dante's

tree is likewise bare until the griffin, Christ, draws up the chariot of the Church and, fastening the pole — which is the Cross — to the mother trunk, 'leaves bound to it that which came from it' (l. 51). Then the tree clothes itself in purple foliage — divine Law is revived in the form of Empire. Church and State being thus allied, humanity enjoys (or would have enjoyed, had this ideal condition lasted) a perfect tranquillity, which is symbolized by the deep sleep into which Dante now falls, as he listens to a mysterious hymn of peace.

When the sleeper comes to himself, he finds that the scene has been transformed. Christ and the Scriptures have left the earth and returned to Heaven, whence they came. They have left below as their representative the Church, with Revelation for its guide, and the sevenfold Spirit of God in the keeping of the seven Virtues. A change as wonderful as this was experienced once before, when the three disciples who had witnessed the Transfiguration recovered from their fright. Mat. xvii, 1–8: 'And after six days Jesus taketh Peter, James, and John his brother, and bringeth them up into an high mountain apart. And was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light. And, behold, there appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with him. Then answered Peter, and said unto Jesus, Lord, it is good for us to be here . . . While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud . . . And when the disciples heard it, they fell on their face, for they were sore afraid. And Jesus came and touched them, and said, Arise, and be not afraid. And when they had lifted up their eyes, they saw no man, save Jesus only.' Dante discusses the moral sense of this episode in the *Convivio*, II, i, 45–51, and refers to its allegorical significance in *De Monarchia*, III, ix, 81–6.

There is now revealed to Dante, for the benefit of mankind, a picture of the vicissitudes of the Church. The persecution of the Christians by the early Roman Emperors, harmful to the State even more than to the victim, is represented by the descent of an eagle, which breaks flowers, leaves, and bark from the tree, and shakes the chariot. A fox, rebuked and put to flight by Beatrice (Truth revealed), stands for a more insidious foe, heresy, which attacks the Church within. The Song of Solomon ii, 15, speaks of 'little foxes, that spoil the vines.' According to Origen (and others after him), these foxes, in the 'third,' or 'spiritual,' sense, signify false doctrines distracting the Church. If Dante had in mind any particular heresy, it must have been an early one,

Gnosticism or Arianism. After the fox, the eagle returns, this time with no hostile intent but with more damaging effect, and leaves its feathers in the chariot. The Emperor thus designated is Constantine, whose donation of his western possessions to the Church was accepted by Dante and his contemporaries as an historical fact: cf. *Inf.* XIX, 115–7; XXVII, 94–5; *Par.* XX, 55–60; *Mon.*, III, x. Next is recorded a great schism, either the secession of the Greek Church or the Mohammedan movement, which was regarded as a departure from Christianity: cf. *Inf.* XXVIII, 31. This disaster, brought about by Satan, is pictured as the removal of a part of the bottom of the chariot by the sting of a dragon that has emerged from the ground beneath it. The figure is suggested by Rev. xii, 3, 4, 9: 'And . . . behold a great red dragon. . . . And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth. . . . And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world' (cf. xx, 2). Meanwhile the gift of temporal possessions has borne its inevitable fruit of corruption. The love of wealth possesses the clergy and disfigures the Church. Feathers suddenly cover the whole chariot; and seven heads, representing the seven capital vices, spring forth on its pole and its corners. The three on the pole are two-horned, and stand for pride, envy, and anger, which are harmful to both the sinner and his neighbor (cf. XVII, 112–23); the other four, single-horned, symbolize sloth, avarice, gluttony, lust, which do not necessarily affect anyone but the vicious man himself. Here again Dante drew his inspiration from the Apocalypse: 'and I saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns' (Rev. xiii, 1). Riding fearlessly, 'with swift roving eyes,' upon the monstrous chariot — like the woman 'upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns' in Rev. xvii, 3 — is an 'unbridled harlot,' who evidently personifies the corrupt Papacy. The House of France, her master, stands beside her in the form of a giant. In Epistola VII, viii, 178, Philip the Fair, the worst offender among the French kings, is called Goliath. Inasmuch as Philip and Boniface VIII were sometimes in accord for evil ends, the giant and the harlot are described as 'kissing from time to time.' But when she turns 'her greedy, restless eye' on Dante, her 'fierce lover' beats her 'from head to foot.' This scourging apparently signifies the outrage perpetrated by Philip on Boniface at Anagni (cf. XX, 85–90). The eager glance at Dante is harder to interpret, but seems to indicate the covetous designs of Boniface on Tuscany. In that case Anagni would

appear to be a retribution for the betrayal of Florence. After the punishment, the giant drags off the chariot through the forest — an allegory of the removal of the Papal see to Avignon in 1305 by the French Pope, Clement V, who was thought to be under the control of Philip. The chariot is drawn so far, Dante says, that the wood alone screens it from his eyes. As the forest is used in l. 100 distinctly as a symbol of this world, contrasted with Heaven, the closing lines may mean that the worldliness of the Papal court, more than its physical distance from Rome, destroys its moral influence in Italy.

For a discussion of the allegory of this canto, and an explanation different in some respects, see Moore, III, 201 ff. For a radically different interpretation of the latter part, see E. Proto, *L'Apocalissi nella Divina Commedia*, 1905. For the legend of Seth: Tor., 614–5. For the scourging of the 'puttana sciolta': F. M. Josselyn in *Modern Philology*, III, 333.

Tanto eran gli occhi miei fissi ed attenti
A disbramarsi la decenne sete
Che gli altri sensi m' eran tutti spenti,
Ed essi quinci e quindi avean parete
Di non caler (così lo santo riso 5
A sè traeali con l' antica rete!),
Quando per forza mi fu volto il viso
Ver la sinistra mia da quelle Dee,
Perch' io udia da loro un: 'Troppo fiso!'
E la disposizion ch' a veder èe 10
Negli occhi pur testè dal sol percossi,
Senza la vista alquanto esser mi fee;

2. Ten years: from June, 1290, to April, 1300.
3. Cf. IV, 1–12. The same fact was noted by Ristoro d'Arezzo and Fra Giordano: see Tor., 612.
4. *Essi:* the eyes.
5. *Non caler,* 'indifference.'
8. The 'Divinities' are the three Christian Virtues.
9. By 'Too fixedly!' the Virtues remind Dante that Revelation cannot be directly comprehended, in its entirety, by the ordinary human mind, but can be best understood through its manifestation in the Church. A similar warning is uttered by Beatrice herself in *Par.* XVIII, 21.
10. *Ee = è:* cf. IV, 47. So in l. 12 *fee = fe = fece.* — 'The ability to see that is in eyes,' etc., i. e., the dazzled condition. The contemplation of divine mysteries blinds mortal man to material reality.

Ma poi che al poco il viso riformossi
 (Io dico 'al poco' per rispetto al molto
 Sensibile, onde a forza mi rimossi), 15
Vidi in sul braccio destro esser rivolto
 Lo glorïoso esercito, e tornarsi
 Col sole e con le sette fiamme al volto.
Come sotto gli scudi per salvarsi
 Volgesi schiera e sè gira col segno 20
 Prima che possa tutta in sè mutarsi,
Quella milizia del celeste regno
 Che precedeva, tutta trapassonne
 Pria che piegasse il carro il primo legno.
Indi alle rote si tornar le donne, 25
 E il grifon mosse il benedetto carco
 Sì che però nulla penna crollonne.
La bella donna che mi trasse al varco
 E Stazio ed io seguitavam la rota
 Che fe' l' orbita sua con minore arco. 30
Sì passeggiando l' alta selva vota
 (Colpa di quella ch' al serpente crese),
 Temprava i passi un' angelica nota.

13. *Poco:* sc., *sensibile* (l. 15), 'perceptibility,' i. e., visibility, the light of the procession. — *Viso,* 'sight.' — *Riformossi,* 'readjusted itself.'
16. *Sul braccio destro,* 'to the right.'
19. The figure is that of a troop of soldiers retreating, with their shields locked over their heads.
20. 'A rank turns, and wheels with its standard.'
21. 'Before it can completely face about.'
24. The candlesticks and the 24 elders all 'passed us,' 'before the chariot bent its first wood,' i. e., its pole, which is the Cross.
25. The seven Virtues returned to their two wheels (XXIX, 121, 130), which they had left (XXXI, 109, 131).
27. 'In such wise that not a feather of him shook withal': Christ set the Church in motion, by means of the Cross, without disturbing his divine part.
28. Matilda: XXXI, 91-104.
30. The wheel 'that made its turn with the smaller curve' is the right wheel, inasmuch as the chariot is turning to the right. Dante and Statius, with Matilda, join the Theological Virtues.
32. *Colpa* is used like the Latin ablative, *culpa,* 'through the fault.' — *Crese* = *credette.*

Forse in tre voli tanto spazio prese
 Disfrenata saetta quanto eramo 35
 Rimossi, quando Beatrice scese.
Io sentii mormorare a tutti: 'Adamo!'
 Poi cerchiaro una pianta dispogliata
 Di fiori e d' altra fronda in ciascun ramo.
La coma sua, che tanto si dilata 40
 Più quanto più è su, fora dagl' Indi
 Nei boschi lor per altezza ammirata.
'Beato sei, grifon, che non discindi
 Col becco d' esto legno dolce al gusto,
 Posciachè mal si torce il ventre quindi.' 45
Così d' intorno all' arbore robusto
 Gridaron gli altri; e l' animal binato:
 'Sì si conserva il seme d' ogni giusto.'
E volto al temo ch' egli avea tirato,
 Trasselo al piè della vedova frasca; 50
 E quel di lei a lei lasciò legato.
Come le nostre piante, quando casca
 Giù la gran luce mischiata con quella

35. *Disfrenata*, 'loosed' from the string. — *Eramo* = *eravamo*. — Cf. *Met.*, VIII, 695–6; *Thebaid*, VI, 354.

37. Cf. 4 Esdras vii, 48: 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned, thou art not fallen alone, but we all that come of thee.'

40. *Coma*, 'tresses,' i. e., branches.

41. India was famous for high trees: cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, II, 122–4. For a symbolical tree of great height, cf. Daniel iv, 10–2, 20–2.

43. *Discindi*, 'breakest off.' Cf. *Mon.*, III, x, 34–6: 'Sed contra officium deputatum Imperatori est *scindere* imperium.' — See *Mon.*, II, xii, xiii; Mat. xxii, 21.

45. 'For the belly is sadly racked afterwards.'

47. *Binato*, 'dual,' of two natures.

48. Mat. iii, 15: 'For thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness' — 'Sic enim decet nos implere omnem *justitiam*.' Cf. Rom. v, 19: 'For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.' — Justice is identical with the divine will: *Mon.*, II, ii, 39–61.

49. *Temo* (cf. XXII, 119) = *timone*, 'pole': the Cross.

50. *Frasca*, 'trunk.'

53. When the sun's light descends 'mingled with that' of Aries, — the constellation which follows Pisces, the 'heavenly carp,' — it is spring.

Che raggia retro alla celeste lasca,
Turgide fansi, e poi si rinnovella 55
Di suo color ciascuna, pria che il sole
Giunga li suoi corsier sott' altra stella:
Men che di rose e più che di viole
Colore aprendo, s' innovò la pianta
Che prima avea le ramora sì sole. 60
Io non lo intesi nè qui non si canta
L' inno che quella gente allor cantaro,
Nè la nota soffersi tutta quanta.
S' io potessi ritrar come assonnaro
Gli occhi spietati, udendo di Siringa, — 65
Gli occhi a cui più vegghiar costò sì caro, —
Come pittor che con esemplo pinga,
Disegnerei com' io m' addormentai;
Ma qual vuol sia che l' assonnar ben finga!
Però trascorro a quando mi svegliai, 70
E dico ch' un splendor mi squarciò il velo
Del sonno, ed un chiamar: 'Surgi! Che fai?'
Quale, a veder dei fioretti del melo

57. The 'next constellation' to which the sun 'hitches his steeds' is Taurus, which follows Aries.

58. The color between red and violet is the Imperial purple.

60. *Ramora* = *rami*, 'branches.'

61. *Qui*: 'on earth.' — Cf. Rev. xiv, 3: 'And they sung as it were a new song before the throne . . . : and no man could learn that song . . .'

63. *Nota*, 'tune.' — *Soffersi*, 'I heard out.'

65. The hundred eyes of Argus, the guardian of Io (cf. XXIX, 95), were put to sleep by Mercury's song of the nymph Syrinx, loved by Pan; Mercury then slew the over-vigilant guardian: *Met.*, I, 568–747.

69. 'But let him who will make a good counterfeit presentment of the act of falling asleep!' — *Qual vuol sia*, 'let it be he who wishes.' Cf. Patecchio's phrase, 'cui illi vol sia': E. Monaci, *Crestomazia italiana*, I, 102, l. 17.

73–8. 'As Peter, John, and James, led to behold the flowerlets of that apple-tree which makes the angels greedy for its fruit and holds eternal wedding feasts in Heaven, and overwhelmed at that sight, came to themselves at the sound of that voice by which deeper sleep had been broken . . .'

73. *Quale* is correlative with *tal* in l. 82. — *A veder* is to be connected both with *condotti*, l. 76, and with *vinti*, l. 77. — *Fioretti*: the foretaste of Christ's

Che del suo pomo gli Angeli fa ghiotti
E perpetüe nozze fa nel cielo, 75
Pietro e Giovanni e Jacopo, condotti
E vinti, ritornaro alla parola
Dalla qual furon maggior sonni rotti,
E videro scemata loro scuola
Così di Moïsè come d' Elia, 80
Ed al Maestro suo cangiata stola,
Tal torna' io, e vidi quella pia
Sopra me starsi che conducitrice
Fu de' miei passi lungo il fiume pria.
E tutto in dubbio dissi: 'Ov' è Beatrice?' 85
Ond' ella: 'Vedi lei sotto la fronda
Nuova sedere in su la sua radice.
Vedi la compagnia che la circonda;
Gli altri dopo il grifon sen vanno suso,
Con più dolce canzone e più profonda.' 90
E se più fu lo suo parlar diffuso
Non so, però che già negli occhi m' era
Quella ch' ad altro intender m' avea chiuso.

glory. — *Melo:* Christ. Cf. Song of Solomon ii, 3: 'As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons.'

74. *Pomo:* the full glory of Christ. Cf. Rev. xviii, 14: 'the fruits that thy soul lusted after' — '*poma* desiderii animæ tuæ'; 1 Peter i, 12: 'which things the angels desire to look into.'

75. Rev. xix, 9: 'Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb.'

76. Mat. xvii, 1.

77. Mat. xvii, 5–7.

78. *Maggior sonni:* the sleep of death. Cf. Luke vii, 14–5; John xi, 43–4.

79. 'And saw their company diminished': Mat. xvii, 8.

80. 'Both by Moses and by Elias': Mat. xvii, 3.

81. 'And their Master's raiment changed,' no longer 'white as the light,' as it had been at the moment of the Transfiguration: Mat. xvii, 2.

87. Beatrice sits upon the root of the tree: Revelation (Religion) and Law (Empire) come from the same source.

88. *Compagnia:* the Virtues.

93. *Quella:* Beatrice. — *Intender*, 'attention.'

Sola sedeasi in sulla terra vera,
Come guardia lasciata lì del plaustro 95
Che legar vidi alla biforme fiera.
In cerchio le facevan di sè claustro
Le sette ninfe, con quei lumi in mano
Che son sicuri d' Aquilone e d' Austro.
'Qui sarai tu poco tempo silvano, 100
E sarai meco senza fine cive
Di quella Roma onde Cristo è Romano.
Però, in pro del mondo che mal vive,
Al carro tieni or gli occhi, e quel che vedi,
Ritornato di là, fa che tu scrive.' 105
Così Beatrice; ed io, che tutto ai piedi
De' suoi comandamenti era devoto,
La mente e gli occhi, ov' ella volle, diedi.
Non scese mai con sì veloce moto
Foco di spessa nube, quando piove 110
Da quel confine che più va remoto,
Com' io vidi calar l' uccel di Giove
Per l' arbor giù, rompendo della scorza,
Non che dei fiori e delle foglie nuove.

94. Beatrice, the divine, has descended to the 'real earth,' putting herself at the disposal of the lowliest through the medium of the Church.
95. *Plaustro*, 'car.'
96. 'Which I had seen bound by the twoshaped beast': l. 51.
97. *Claustra*, 'ring.'
98. *Lumi:* the candlesticks.
99. 'Which are safe from Aquilo and Auster,' the north and the south wind: which no physical blast can extinguish.
100. *Silvano*, 'forester.' Thou shalt dwell a little while on earth.
101. *Cive*, 'citizen.' Then thou shalt dwell forever in Heaven. Cf. Ephesians ii, 19: 'fellowcitizens with the saints, and of the household of God.'
103. *In pro*, 'for the benefit.'
105. *Scrive* = *scriva*. Cf. Rev. i, 11: 'What thou seest, write in a book.'
110. *Spessa*, 'dense.' — *Piove*, 'it (the lightning) falls:' cf. *Bull.*, XVI, 147.
112. The emblem of the Roman Empire is the eagle, 'Jove's bird': *Æn.*, I, 394. — Cf. Ezekiel xvii, 3-4.
114. *Non che*, 'likewise.'

E ferì il carro di tutta sua forza, 115
Ond' ei piegò, come nave in fortuna,
Vinta dall' onda, or da poggia or da orza.
Poscia vidi avventarsi nella cuna
Del trïonfal veïculo una volpe,
Che d' ogni pasto buon parea digiuna. 120
Ma, riprendendo lei di laide colpe,
La Donna mia la volse in tanta futa
Quanto sofferson l' ossa senza polpe.
Poscia, per indi ond' era pria venuta,
L' aquila vidi scender giù nell' arca 125
Del carro, e lasciar lei di sè pennuta.
E qual esce di cor che si rammarca,
Tal voce uscì del cielo e cotal disse:
'O navicella mia, com' mal sei carca!'
Poi parve a me che la terra s' aprisse 130
Tr' ambo le rote, e vidi uscirne un drago,
Che per lo carro su la coda fisse;
E come vespa che ritragge l' ago,
A sè traendo la coda maligna,
Trasse del fondo, e gissen vago vago. 135
Quel che rimase, — come di gramigna
Vivace terra, — della piuma, offerta

116. *Fortuna*, 'storm.'
117. *Poggia*, 'leeward.' — *Orza*, 'windward.'
118. The 'cradle' is the body of the chariot.
119. Cf. Ezekiel xiii, 4: 'O Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts.'
121. *Riprendendo*, 'rebuking.' — *Laide*, 'ugly.'
122. *Futa*, 'flight.'
123. 'Such as its fleshless bones permitted.'
125. The 'ark,' like the 'cradle' above, means the body of the chariot.
129. According to a familiar legend, after the donation of Constantine a voice from Heaven was heard crying: 'Hodie diffusum est venenum in Ecclesia Dei.' — For Dante's views on the donation, see *Mon.*, III, x.
135. 'It pulled out some of the bottom, and twisted and twined itself away.'
136. *Come*, etc., as 'live earth' does 'with dog's grass.'
137. *Della piuma* goes with *Si ricoperse* in l. 139.

Forse con intenzion sana e benigna,
Si ricoperse, e funne ricoperta
E l' una e l' altra rota e il temo, in tanto 140
Che più tiene un sospir la bocca aperta.
Trasformato così, il dificio santo
Mise fuor teste per le parti sue,
Tre sopra il temo ed una in ciascun canto.
Le prime eran cornute come bue, 145
Ma le quattro un sol corno avean per fronte.
Simile mostro visto ancor non fue!
Sicura quasi rocca in alto monte,
Seder sopr' esso una puttana sciolta
M' apparve, con le ciglia intorno pronte. 150
E come perchè non gli fosse tolta,
Vidi di costa a lei dritto un gigante;
E baciavansi insieme alcuna volta.
Ma perchè l' occhio cupido e vagante
A me rivolse, quel feroce drudo 155
La flagellò dal capo infin le piante.
Poi, di sospetto pieno e d' ira crudo,
Disciolse il mostro, e trassel per la selva
Tanto che sol di lei mi fece scudo
Alla puttana ed alla nuova belva. 160

140. *In tanto:* so quickly.
142. *Dificio*, 'engine' (cf. *Inf.* XXXIV, 7): the chariot.
144. *Temo:* cf. l. 49.
152. *Di costa a lei*, 'beside her.'
153. Cf. Rev. xviii, 2, 3: 'Babylon the great is fallen, . . . and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her.'
157. *Sospetto*, 'jealousy.'
158. The 'monster' is the chariot; so is the 'strange beast' of l. 160. — *Trassel* = *lo trasse.*

CANTO XXXIII

ARGUMENT

THE 13th and 14th centuries witnessed a considerable vogue of prophetic literature and mystic interpretation. Aside from the Kabbalistic method, — which assigned numerical values to the letters, and explained one word by another whose letters added up to the same sum, — the transposition of letters was used, and the attribution of special significances to letters and numbers. Speculation as to the secret meaning of numbers, which is so curiously illustrated in the *Vita Nuova*, Ch. XXX, was common enough among scholars and theologians. A standing problem was the 'number of the beast,' in Rev. xiii, 18: 'Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six.' St. Joachim and St. Thomas discuss the possible values of the letters and the numbers that make up DCLXVI, and point out (as Victorinus had done in the fourth century) that with a shift of its last two members the combination reads DIC LVX, the not very relevant Latin phrase, *dic, lux*.

This idea of transposition seems to have been adopted by Dante when, in the present canto, he follows up the prophecies of a temporal redeemer uttered in *Inf.* I, 100–11, and *Purg.* XX, 13–5, with the solemn and mysterious announcement of an approaching heir to the vacant Imperial throne, a '*cinquecento diece e cinque*,' sent by God, who shall slay the harlot and the giant. The number DXV, with a shift similar to that noted above, gives DVX, the Latin word *dux*, or 'leader.' An Imperial leader of mankind, ordained by God, is soon to correct the greedy and unscrupulous Papacy and overthrow the power of the House of France. In choosing 515 as a symbol, Dante undoubtedly had in mind also the mystic attributes (whatever he may have thought them to be) of the numbers that compose it. His imagination may have been touched, furthermore, by the familiar abbreviation of the name of Christ, a Greek X (= CH) and P (= R), so combined as to look like a P superposed on an X, or a D connected by a downward prolongation of its upright line with a V which forms

the upper half of an X. This sign was sometimes interpreted as *D*eus *CH*ristus *V*enturus, 'Lord Christ to come,' just as I.H.S, the first three letters of *Jesus* in Greek spelling, is explained as *J*esus *H*ominum *S*alvator. The word *Christ*, as Dante knew, means 'king'; and the temporal Christ, who is to appear near the end of the world, corresponds to the spiritual Messiah, who inaugurated our era.

To emphasize the mysteriousness of his prediction, Dante compares it to the utterances of the goddess Themis, whose obscure oracle is recorded in *Met.*, I, 377–94, and to the riddle of the bloodthirsty Theban Sphinx, finally guessed by Œdipus (*Met.*, VII, 759–61; *Thebaid*, I, 66–7). Dark though his words may be, — he adds, — the events shall ere long solve the problem — even as Œdipus, the son of Laius, unravelled the Sphinx's puzzle. Ovid, in *Met.*, VII, 759–60, relates that this son of Laius had cleared up the riddles which had never been understood before:

> 'Carmina Laïades non intellecta priorum
> Solverat ingeniis.'

Dante, however, evidently read the passage in a faulty text, which substituted *Naiades* for *Laiades* and *solvunt* for *solverat*, and was thus led to believe that Naiads, or water-nymphs, were the successful guessers. Therefore, instead of saying 'the events shall be the Œdipus (or Laiades) that shall explain the mystery,' he puts it: 'The facts shall soon be the Naiads that shall solve this hard enigma.'

See I. Della Giovanna in the *Giornale d' Italia*, Jan. 26, 1905 (cf. *Bull.*, XIII, 37–9); P. Chistoni in *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 194 (cf. D. Guerri in *Giorn. dant.*, XIII, 306). An ingenious and interesting attempt to explain the prophecy as a Kabbalistic reference to Henry VII is to be found in Moore, III, 253 ff. (cf. *Bull.*, IX, 40). — Cf. G. Lizerand, *Clément V et Philippe le Bel*, 1910.

> '*Deüs venerunt gentes*,' alternando
> Or tre or quattro, dolce salmodia
> Le donne incominciaro, e lagrimando;
> E Beatrice sospirosa e pia
> Quelle ascoltava sì fatta che poco 5

1. Ps. lxxix (Vulg. lxxviii), 1: '*O God, the heathen are come* into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled.' This psalm, depicting the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, and closing with a prayer for restoration, is now applied to the profanation of the Church described at the end of Canto XXXII. The Theological and the Cardinal Virtues sing the verses alternately.

5. *Sì fatta*, 'with such an expression.'

Più alla croce si cambiò Maria.
Ma poi che l' altre vergini dier loco
A lei di dir, levata dritta in piè
Rispose, colorata come foco:
'*Modicum, et non videbitis me,* 10
Et iterum, sorelle mie dilette,
Modicum, et vos videbitis me!'
Poi le si mise innanzi tutte e sette,
E dopo sè, solo accennando, mosse
Me e la Donna, e il Savio che ristette. 15
Così sen giva, e non credo che fosse
Lo decimo suo passo in terra posto
Quando con gli occhi gli occhi mi percosse;
E con tranquillo aspetto: 'Vien più tosto,'
Mi disse, 'tanto che s' io parlo teco, 20
Ad ascoltarmi tu sie ben disposto.'
Sì com' io fui, com' io doveva, seco,
Dissemi: 'Frate, perchè non ti attenti
A domandarmi omai venendo meco?'
Come a color che troppo reverenti 25
Dinanzi a' suoi maggior parlando sono,

6. Mary at the foot of the cross — the *Mater dolorosa* of art and song — was scarcely more altered by grief than Beatrice.

7. *Dier = diedero.*

10. In answer to the complaint and prayer of the Virtues, Beatrice repeats the prophecy of Christ to his disciples in John xvi, 16: 'A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me.' Truth, as revealed through the Church, shall be hidden for a time, but shall shine forth again.

14. *Solo accennando*, 'merely beckoning': she had no need to speak.

15. *Donna:* Matilda. — *Savio:* Statius.

17. The 9 to 10 steps probably represent a period of over 9 years, between 1305, when Clement V was induced by Philip the Fair to make Avignon the seat of the Papacy, and 1314, when both Clement and Philip died. After their death the world was in a better condition to expect a redeemer. Cf. E. Gorra in *Mélanges Chabaneau*, 1907, 585. Moore, III, 263, offers a different explanation.

22. *Sì com'*, 'as soon as.' — *Seco*, 'with her.'

23. *Ti attenti*, 'thou venturest.'

24. *Domandarmi*, 'question me.'

Che non traggon la voce viva ai denti,
Avvenne a me, che senza intero suono
Incominciai: 'Madonna, mia bisogna
Voi conoscete, e ciò ch' ad essa è buono.' 30
Ed ella a me: 'Da tema e da vergogna
Voglio che tu omai ti disviluppe,
Sì che non parli più com' uom che sogna.
Sappi che il vaso che il serpente ruppe
Fu e non è; ma chi n' ha colpa creda 35
Che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe.
Non sarà tutto tempo senza reda
L' aquila che lasciò le penne al carro,
Per che divenne mostro e poscia preda.
Ch' io veggio certamente, — e però il narro, — 40
A darne tempo già stelle propinque,
(Sicure d' ogni intoppo e d' ogni sbarro)
Nel quale un cinquecento diece e cinque,
Messo da Dio, anciderà la fuia
Con quel gigante che con lei delinque. 45

34. The 'vessel' is the chariot, and the 'serpent' is the dragon of XXXII, 131.

35. Rev. xvii, 8: 'The beast that thou sawest was, and is not.' The material Church has ceased to exist. — *Chi n' ha colpa*, 'he who is to blame': Clement and Philip shall both be stricken down (cf. l. 17).

36. 'God's vengeance fears no bullying,' like that of the harlot by the giant. It seems that *suppe*, in the colloquial language, sometimes had this sense: see D. Guerri in *Giorn. Stor.*, LIII, 297. The old and most of the modern commentators explain the verse as a reference to a hypothetical custom of eating sops on a murdered man's grave. Tor., 624–5, suggests an emendation.

37. *Reda*, 'heir': note the rhymes in *-eda* in the prophetic lines 13 and 15 of Canto XX. — In *Conv.*, IV, iii, 38–43, Dante calls Frederick II, who died in 1250, the last Roman Emperor — '*ultimo* dico per rispetto al tempo presente, non ostante che Ridolfo e Adolfo e Alberto poi eletti sieno appresso la sua morte e de' suoi discendenti,' inasmuch as these three never came to Italy. Cf. VI, 97; VII, 94.

41, 42. 'Stars — safe from every let and hindrance — on the point of giving us a time . . .'

44. *Fuia*: the 'thief' is the harlot who has usurped the place of the rightful authority.

45. *Delinque*, 'sins.'

E forse che la mia narrazion, buia
  Qual Temi e Sfinge, men ti persüade,
  Perch' a lor modo lo intelletto attuia;
Ma tosto fien li fatti le Naiade
  Che solveranno questo enigma forte, 50
  Senza danno di pecore o di biade.
Tu nota; e sì come da me son porte,
  Così queste parole segna ai vivi
  Del viver ch' è un correre alla morte;
Ed abbi a mente, quando tu le scrivi, 55
  Di non celar qual hai vista la pianta
  Ch' è or due volte dirubata quivi.
Qualunque ruba quella o quella schianta,
  Con bestemmia di fatto offende a Dio,
  Che solo all' uso suo la creò santa. 60
Per morder quella, in pena ed in disio
  Cinquemil' anni e più l' anima prima
  Bramò Colui che il morso in sè punio.
Dorme lo ingegno tuo, se non estima
  Per singular cagione essere eccelsa 65
  Lei tanto, e sì travolta nella cima.
E se stati non fossero acqua d' Elsa

48. 'Because it clouds the understanding, as they did.'
51. Themis, to avenge the death of the Sphinx, sent the Thebans a beast to lay waste their flocks and fields: *Met.*, VII, 763 ff. But the followers of the new Œdipus, the Redeemer to come, will have nothing to fear from Themis, the goddess of Justice.
57. The tree of Law has been despoiled by Adam and by the giant.
59. *Bestemmia di fatto*, 'blasphemy of deed.'
61. *Per*, 'because of.'
62, 63. Adam longed for redemption by Christ, — who took upon himself the punishment for Adam's sin, — during more than 5000 years, i. e., 930 on earth (Gen. v, 5) and 4302 in Limbus (*Par.* XXVI, 118–20). According to the chronology of Eusebius, Christ was born in the year 5200 after the creation.
65. *Singular cagione*, 'a special reason.' — *Eccelsa:* cf. XXXII, 41–2.
66. *Travolta:* cf. XXXII, 40–1.
67. The water of the Tuscan river, Elsa, coats with carbonate of lime anything that falls into it. The 'vain thoughts' have petrified Dante's mind.

Li pensier vani intorno alla tua mente,
E il piacer loro un Piramo alla gelsa,
Per tante circostanze solamente 70
La giustizia di Dio nello interdetto
Conosceresti all' arbor moralmente.
Ma perch' io veggio te nello intelletto
Fatto di pietra, ed, impietrato, tinto
Sì che t' abbaglia il lume del mio detto, 75
Voglio anco, e se non scritto, almen dipinto,
Che il te ne porti dentro a te, per quello
Che si reca il bordon di palma cinto.'
Ed io: 'Sì come cera da suggello, —
Che la figura impressa non trasmuta, — 80
Segnato è or da voi lo mio cervello.
Ma perchè tanto sopra mia veduta
Vostra parola disïata vola
Che più la perde quanto più s' aiuta?'
'Perchè conoschi,' disse, 'quella scuola 85
Ch' hai seguitata, e veggi sua dottrina
Come può seguitar la mia parola;
E veggi vostra via dalla divina
Distar cotanto quanto si discorda
Da terra il ciel che più alto festina.' 90

69. His 'delight in them' has discolored his mind, as the blood of Pyramus stained the mulberry: cf. XXVII, 39.
72. 'Thou wouldst have recognized in the tree, in the moral sense.'
77. *Il : detto*, l. 75. — *Per quello*, 'for the same reason' (cf. XV, 133): pilgrims bring back their 'staff wreathed with palm' from the Holy Land, to show where they have been and what they have seen.
84. *S' aiuta*, 'it strives.'
85. *Conoschi* = *(tu) conosca.* — *Scuola:* the 'school' of those who live according to the senses, and thus become deaf and blind to spiritual truth.
86. *Veggi* = *(tu) veda.*
87. *Come*, 'how (little).'
90. *Il ciel:* the Primum Mobile, the swiftest and most distant of the heavens. — Cf. Isaiah lv, 9: 'For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts.'

Ond' io risposi lei: 'Non mi ricorda
Ch' io straniassi me giammai da voi,
Nè honne coscienza che rimorda.'
'E se tu ricordar non te ne puoi,'
Sorridendo rispose, 'or ti rammenta 95
Come bevesti di Letè ancoi;
E se dal fummo foco s' argomenta,
Cotesta oblivion chiaro conchiude
Colpa nella tua voglia altrove attenta.
Veramente oramai saranno nude 100
Le mie parole, quanto converrassi
Quelle scoprire alla tua vista rude.' —
E più corrusco, e con più lenti passi,
Teneva il sole il cerchio di merigge, —
Che qua e là, come gli aspetti, fassi, — 105
Quando s' affisser (sì come s' affigge
Chi va dinanzi a gente per iscorta,
Se trova novitate o sue vestigge)
Le sette donne al fin d' un' ombra smorta,
Qual sotto foglie verdi e rami nigri 110
Sopra suoi freddi rivi l' Alpe porta.

96. *Ancoi*, 'this day': cf. XIII, 52; XX, 70.
98. *Chiaro conchiude*, 'clearly proves.'
99. 'That there was guilt in the turning of thy desire to another quarter.' Inasmuch as Lethe removes only the memory of *sin*, the fact that he has now forgotten his recreancy to Beatrice — which he remembered just before drinking of the stream (XXXI, 34–6) — proves that this estrangement was sinful.
100. *Veramente*, 'be that as it may.'
103. It is noon. When the sun is overhead, it seems to move slower than when it is near the horizon: cf. *Par.* XXIII, 11–2.
105. The 'noonday circle,' or meridian, 'shifts to one side and the other, according to the point of view': it is not a fixed line, like the equator.
106. *S' affisser*, 'stopped.'
108. 'If he finds something strange, or any indication of it.'
109. The 'pallid shade' is a dark pool under the trees.
110. *Nigri* = *neri*.
111. *Sopra:* at the source of . . .

Dinanzi ad esse Eüfrates e Tigri
Veder mi parve uscir d' una fontana,
E quasi amici dipartirsi pigri.
'O luce, o gloria della gente umana, 115
Che acqua è questa che qui si dispiega
Da un principio, e sè da sè lontana?'
Per cotal prego detto mi fu: 'Prega
Matelda che il ti dica.' E qui rispose,
Come fa chi da colpa si dislega, 120
La bella Donna: 'Questo ed altre cose
Dette gli son per me; e son sicura
Che l' acqua di Letè non gliel nascose.'
E Beatrice: 'Forse maggior cura,
Che spesse volte la memoria priva, 125
Fatta ha la mente sua negli occhi oscura.
Ma vedi Eünoè che là deriva:
Menalo ad esso, e come tu sei usa,
La tramortita sua virtù ravviva.'

112. Boethius, *Cons.*, V, Metr. i, 3-4:

'Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt
Et mox abjunctis dissociantur aquis.'

Cf. Lucan, *Phars.*, III, 256-9. So Brunetto Latini in the *Trésor* and St. Isidore in the *Origines* (both citing Sallust as an authority) describe these two rivers as coming from the same source. — Obliviousness to evil and consciousness of good spring from the same spiritual condition, and neither can be complete without the other (XXVIII, 131-2).

115. John viii, 12: 'I am the light of the world.'

116. *Si dispiega*, 'gushes.'

119. This is the only mention of the lady's name.

120. *Da colpa si dislega*, 'frees himself from blame.'

123. There can be no guilt in any words spoken by Matilda, the personification of Innocence.

125. *Priva*, 'robs.' — Remorse for his sin had made Dante forget the promise of good (XXVIII, 127-33); now the recollection of sin has been removed by Lethe, and the memory of the good that is his due must be revived by Eunoe.

126. 'Has darkened his mental eyes.'

128. Apparently Matilda performs this office for all souls that reach this stage. The complete restoration of Innocence implies that all evil is banished from the mind and the memory of all good is revived.

Com' anima gentil che non fa scusa, 130
  Ma fa sua voglia della voglia altrui,
  Tosto ch' ell' è per segno fuor dischiusa,
Così, poi che da essa preso fui,
  La bella Donna mossesi, ed a Stazio
  Donnescamente disse: 'Vien con lui.' 135
S' io avessi, lettor, più lungo spazio
  Da scrivere, io pur canterei in parte
  Lo dolce ber che mai non m' avria sazio;
Ma perchè piene son tutte le carte
  Ordite a questa Cantica seconda, 140
  Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell' arte.
Io ritornai dalla santissim' onda
  Rifatto sì come piante novelle
  Rinnovellate di novella fronda,
Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle. 145

135. *Donnescamente,* 'with womanly grace.' — Statius now disappears from the narrative.
144. Cf. Ephesians iv, 23: 'And be renewed in the spirit of your mind.'
145. Like the first and third, this second *cantica* ends with the word *stelle,* pointing to the goal of Dante's journey.